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Three Poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn :
The First, in loftiness of thought surpast;
The Next, in majesty; in both the Last;
The force of Nature could no farther go:
To make a Third She joynd the former Two. Dryden.

G. Verdué Sculp. 1747.

PARADISE LOST.

A

P O E M,

I N

T W E L V E B O O K S.

The A U T H O R

J O H N M I L T O N.

A N E W E D I T I O N,

With N O T E S of various A U T H O R S,

By T H O M A S N E W T O N, D. D.

V O L U M E *the* F I R S T.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. and R. T O N S O N and S. D R A P E R in the *Strand*.

M D C C X L I X.



PARADISE LOST.

P O E M

TWO VOLUMES.

The AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON

A NEW EDITION

With Notes of various Authors

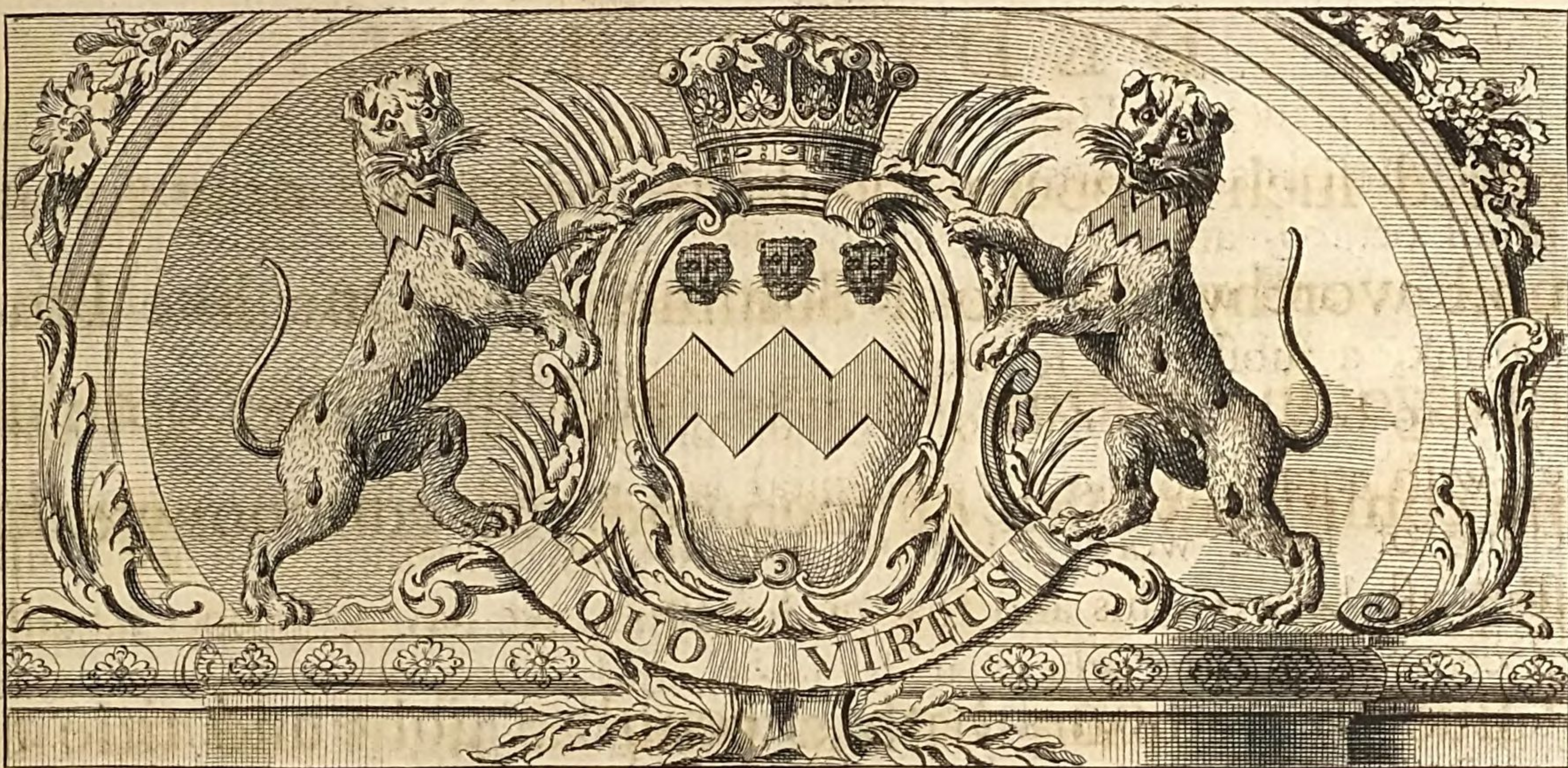
By THOMAS NEWTON D.D.

VOLUME the FIRST

L O N D O N

Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAVER in the Strand.

MDCCLXIX



To the RIGHT HONORABLE the
E A R L O F B A T H.

MY LORD,



MILTON himself prefixed no Dedication to the PARADISE LOST; for he designed it, not for a single patron, but for the wise and learned of all ages. However several of the later editions have been inscribed to Lord Sommers, as a great admirer and encourager of this work: and

DEDICATION.

indeed such a poem should be addressed only to the most worthy, to Lord Sommers, or One like Him a judge and patron of arts, and illustrious both in the commonwealth of men and the commonwealth of letters.

But this edition hath a peculiar right and title to Your Lordship's patronage and protection, as it was undertaken chiefly at Your desire, and in some measure carried on at Your expense, Your Lordship having generously contributed the copper plates to beautify and adorn it: and at the same time Your Lordship was willing to give some encouragement to the art of designing here in England; for it is greatly to be lamented, when we can produce models in poetry superior to any or all the nations in Europe, that we should be deficient and inferior to several of them in the sister art of painting.

Milton was ever a favorite poet with Your Lordship. You considered him always as a classic author in
English,

DEDICATION.

English, and were desirous to have him published as such: and though I cannot pretend to instruct Your Lordship to understand him better, or admire him more; yet if I can make him more generally understood, and consequently more justly admired, Your Lordship's purpose and mine will be sufficiently answered. Your Lordship's taste has never been questioned; and I should dread Your great abilities, if I did not love more Your candor and good-nature: and no wonder that You have so much a finer taste than other great men, as You are so much a finer writer, and if I may be allowed to mention it, in poetry as well as in prose. For the state has not wholly ingrossed Your time and attention; at proper seasons and intervals You have also sacrificed to the Muses. Your writings in other kinds are very well known to the world, have long been in every body's hands, and read with universal delight and admiration: but Your verses are made only for the amusement

DEDICATION.

ment of Your leisure hours, and the entertainment of Your friends; and it is not easy for others, who have not had the pleasure of seeing some of them, to conceive the spirit, and ease, and elegance, and happiness, with which they are written. They, who remember the pieces by Lord Dorset, may have the best notion of them.

And if I may presume to know any thing of the spirit or mind of Milton by a diligent perusal of his works, he would be pleased with the offering of any of his writings to Your Lordship, for the sake of those principles of liberty which You have always professed. He would have rejoiced in Your long, and glorious struggle in the cause of liberty, in the cause of Your country: and if all the good effects have not followed from it, which might have been expected, though it may not become me to say where the blame ought to be laid, yet it cannot misbecome me to say that it ought by no means to be laid, as it has been,
upon

DEDICATION.

upon Your Lordship. It is not my business to give any offense, and I intend none. I abhor defamation, and I scorn as much to flatter Your Lordship or any man. But it may be said, I hope without offense, I am sure without flattery, that it is in Your Lordship's power to set all these transactions in a clear light, and You have sufficient materials by You for this purpose, and have often been solicited by Your friends to do it: but Your Lordship's answer always was, that You would leave it to Time and Truth to vindicate Your character. And the event has succeeded according to Your Lordship's wisdom and foresight; prejudice is dying away; truth is gaining ground daily; and the more the truth is understood, the more it redounds to Your Lordship's honor: and Your enemies themselves, and those who not knowing Your purposes will not allow You to have acted a wise, must yet be forced to acknowledge that You acted a most disinterested part. For it is very well known, that You were even courted to accept
the

DEDICATION.

genius for literature or business; Your easy wit, and flowing conversation, often instructive, always agreeable and entertaining; Your social and convivial spirit, that it is a happiness to live or converse with You; these, these are the good qualities, which have gained my affection, and must gain every one's who hath equal opportunities of observing them. If I knew any man, who possessed and exerted them all in a greater and more eminent degree than Your Lordship, I should love him and admire him more: but till then I must have the highest honor for Your Lordship, and cannot help professing myself without reserve, and with all possible veneration,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's ever obliged,

and devoted Servant,

May 20. 1749.

THOMAS NEWTON.

P R E F A C E.

TO publish new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been esteemed a service to learning, and an employment worthy of men of learning. It is not material whether the author is ancient or modern. Good criticism is the same in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the second rank in the republic of letters. And if the pious and learned Bishop of Thessalonica has gained immortal honor by his notes upon Homer, it can be no discredit to a graver Divine than myself to comment upon such a divine poem as the *Paradise Lost*, especially after some great men, who have gone before me in this exercise, and whose example is sanction sufficient.

My design in the present edition is to publish the *Paradise Lost*, as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum. And in order to this end the first care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions. And herein the editors of Milton have a considerable advantage over the editors of Shakespear. For the first editions of Shakespear's works being printed from the incorrect copies of the players, there is more room left for conjectures and emendations; and as according to the old proverb,

Bene qui conjiciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum,

the best gesser was the best diviner, so he may be said in some measure too to be the best editor of Shakespear, as Mr. Warburton hath proved himself by variety of conjectures, and many of them very happy ones, upon the most difficult passages. But we who undertake to publish Milton's *Paradise Lost* are not reduced to that uncertainty; we are not left floating in the wide ocean of conjecture, but have a chart and compass to steer by; we have an authentic copy to follow in the two editions printed in his own life-time, and have only to correct what may be supposed to be the errors of the press, or mistakes occasioned by the

P R E F A C E.

author's blindness. These two editions then, the first in ten books printed in a small quarto, and the second in twelve books printed in a small octavo, are proposed as our standard: the variations in each are noted; and we never deviate from them both without assigning, as we think, a substantial reason for it. Some alterations indeed are necessary to be made in consequence of the late improvements in printing, with regard to the use of capital letters, Italic characters, and the spelling of some words: but to Milton's own spelling (for we must distinguish between his and that of his times) we pay all proper regard, and commonly note where it is right, and where it is wrong; and follow it or not accordingly. His pointing too we generally observe, because it is generally right; such was the care, that Milton himself took in having the proof-sheets read to him, or his friends took for him: and changes of consequence we make none without signifying the reasons; in lesser instances there is no occasion to be particular. In a word we approve of the two first editions in the main, tho' we cannot think that they ought to be followed (as some have advised) letter for letter, and point for point. We desire to transcribe all their excellences, but have no notion of perpetuating their faults and errors.

When the text was settled, the notes came next under consideration. P. H. or Patrick Hume, as he was the first, so is the most copious annotator. He laid the foundation, but he laid it among infinite heaps of rubbish. The greater part of his work is a dull dictionary of the most common words, a tedious fardel of the most trivial observations, explaining what requires no explanation: but take away what is superfluous, and there will still remain a great deal that is useful; there is gold among his dross, and I have been careful to separate the one from the other. It was recommended to me indeed to print entire Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the Paradise Lost, as ingenious essays which had contributed greatly to the reputation of the poem, and having been added to several editions they could not well be omitted in this edition: and accordingly those papers, which treat of the poem in general, are prefixed in the nature of a preliminary discourse; and those, which are written upon each book separately, are
inserted

P R E F A C E.

inserted under each book, and interwoven in their proper places. Dr. Bentley's is a great name in criticism, but he has not acquired any additional honor by his new edition of the *Paradise Lost*. Nay some have been so far prejudiced as to think, that he could not be a good critic in any language, who had shown himself so injudicious an one in his own mother-tongue. But prejudice apart, he was a very great man, of parts inferior to few, of learning superior to most men; and he has made some very judicious and useful remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*, though in the general they may rather be called the dotages of Dr. Bentley. He was more sagacious in finding faults, than happy in mending them; and if he had confined himself only to the former, he might have had better success; but when he attempted the latter, and substituted verses of his own in the room of Milton's, he commonly made most miserable bungling work, being no poet himself, and having little or no taste of poetry. Dr. Pearce, the present Lord Bishop of Bangor, has distinguished his taste and judgment in choosing always the best authors for the subjects of his criticism, as Cicero and Longinus among the Ancients, and Milton among the Moderns. His Review of the Text of the *Paradise Lost* is not only a most complete answer to Dr. Bentley, but may serve as a pattern to all future critics, of sound learning and just reasoning joined with the greatest candor and gentleness of manners. The whole is very well worthy of the perusal of every lover and admirer of Milton, but such parts only are ingrafted into this work as are more immediately proper for our design, and explain some difficulty, or illustrate some beauty of our author. His Lordship together with my Lord Bath first engaged me in this undertaking, and he has kindly assisted me in it from the beginning to the end; and I cannot but entertain the better hopes of the public approbation, as these sheets, long before they went to the press, were perused and corrected by his Lordship. Of Mr. Richardson's notes we have much the same opinion, as we have of his paintings. Some of his portraits are stiff, and aukward, and nothing like the persons; but sometimes he was very happy in taking of likenesses, and finished his pieces with uncommon force and spirit: and in his writings there are
strange

P R E F A C E.

strange inequalities; there is often better sense than grammar or English; and among several things odd and unaccountable, he sometimes hits the true meaning of the author surprisingly, and explains it properly. He had good natural parts but without erudition or learning, in which he was assisted by his son, who is a man of taste and literature, as well as of the greatest benevolence and good-nature. Mr. Warburton likewise has published some remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*, occasioned chiefly by Dr. Bentley's edition. They were printed some years ago in the *History of the works of the Learned*, and he allowed me the free use of them: but upon looking into the *History of the works of the Learned*, to my regret I found that his remarks were continued no farther than the three first books, and what is become of his other papers, and how they were mislaid and lost, neither he nor I can apprehend; but the excellence of those which remain sufficiently evinces the great loss that we have sustained in the others, which cannot now be recovered. He has done me the honor too of recommending this edition to the public in the preface to his *Shakespear*, but nothing could have recommended it more effectually than if it had been adorned by some more of his notes and observations. There is a pamphlet intitled *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, said to be written by a Gentleman of North Britain; and there is another intitled *Letters concerning poetical translations, and Virgil's and Milton's arts of verse*, commonly ascribed to Mr. Auditor Benson: and of both these I have made some use, as I have likewise of the learned Mr. Upton's *Critical Observations on Shakespear*, wherein he has occasionally interspersed some remarks upon Milton; and in short, like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them growing.

But besides the flower of those which have been already published, here are several new observations offered to the world, both of others and my own. Dr. Heylin lent me the use of his manuscript remarks, but much the greater part of them had been rifled before by Dr. Bentley. It seems Dr. Heylin had once an intention of publishing a new edition of the *Paradise Lost*, and mentioned his design to Dr. Bentley: but Dr. Bentley declaring at the same time his resolution of doing it,
Dr.

P R E F A C E.

Dr. Heylin modestly desisted, and freely communicated what observations he had made to Dr. Bentley. And what does Dr. Bentley do? Why, he borrows the best and most plausible of his notes from Dr. Heylin, publishes them as his own, and never has the gratitude to make any acknowledgment, or so much as any mention of his benefactor. I am obliged too to Mr. Jortin for some remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce. They are chiefly upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity; as appears from his *Lusus Poetici*, his *Miscellaneous Observations* upon authors, and his *Discourses* concerning the truth of the Christian Religion. Besides those already mentioned, Mr. Warburton has favored me with a few other notes in manuscript; I wish there had been more of them for the sake of the reader, for the loose hints of such writers, like the slight sketches of great masters in painting, are worth more than the labor'd pieces of others. And he very kindly lent me Mr. Pope's Milton of Bentley's edition, wherein Mr. Pope had all along with his own hand set some mark of approbation, *rectè*, *benè*, *pulchrè* &c, in the margin over-against such emendations of the Doctor's, as seemed to him just and reasonable. It was a satisfaction to see what so great a genius thought particularly of that edition, and he appears throughout the whole to have been a very candid reader, and to have approved of more than really merits approbation. Mr. Richardson the father has said in his preface, that his son had a very copious collection of fine passages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton had profited; and this collection, which is written in the margin and between the lines of Mr. Hume's annotations, Mr. Richardson the son has put into my hands. Some little use I have made of it; and it might have been of greater service, and have saved me some trouble, if I had not then almost completed this work. Mr. Thyer, the Librarian at Manchester, I have not the pleasure of knowing personally, but by his writings I am convinced that he must be a man of great learning, and as great humanity. It was late before I was informed that he had written any remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*, but he was very
ready

P R E F A C E.

ready to communicate them, and for the greater dispatch sent me his interleav'd Milton, wherein his remarks were written: but unluckily for him, for me, and for the public, the book thro' the negligence of the carrier was dropt upon the road, and cannot since be found. Mr. Thyer however hath had the goodness to endeavor to repair the loss to me and to the public by writing what he could recollect, and sending me a sheet or two full of remarks almost every post for several weeks together: and tho' several of them came too late to be inserted into the body of the work, yet they will be found in the Appendix, which is made for the sake of them principally. It is unnecessary to say any thing in their commendation; they will sufficiently recommend themselves. Some other assistance too I have received from persons, whose names are unknown, and others, whose names I am not at liberty to mention: but I hope the Speaker of the House of Commons will pardon my ambition to have it known, that he has been pleased to suggest some useful hints and observations, when I have been admitted to the honor of his conversation.

And as the notes are of various authors, so they are of various kinds, critical and explanatory; some to correct the errors of former editions, to discuss the various readings, and to establish the true genuine text of Milton; some to illustrate the sense and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of sentiment and character, and to commend or censure the conduct of the poem; some to remark the peculiarities of style and language, to clear the syntax, and to explain the uncommon words, or common words used in an uncommon signification; some to consider and examine the numbers, and to display our author's great arts of versification, the variety of the pauses, and the adaptness of the sound to the sense; some to show his imitations and allusions to other authors, whether sacred or profane, ancient or modern. We might have been much larger and more copious under each of these heads, and especially under the last: but I would not produce every thing that hath any similitude and resemblance, but only such passages as we may suppose the author really alluded to, and had in mind at the time of writing. It was once my intention to prefix some essays
to

P R E F A C E.

to this work, one upon Milton's stile, another upon his versification, a third upon his imitations &c; but upon more mature deliberation I concluded that the same things would have a better effect in the form of short notes, when the particular passages referred to came immediately under consideration, and the context lay before the reader. There would have been more of the pomp and ostentation of criticism in the former, but I conceive there is more real use and advantage in the latter. It is the great fault of commentators, that they are apt to be silent or at most very concise where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none: but it is hoped that the contrary method has been taken here; and tho' more may be said than is requisite for critics and scholars, yet it may be no more than is necessary or proper for other readers of Milton. For these notes are intended for general use, and if they are received with general approbation, that will be sufficient. I can hardly expect that any body should approve them all, and I may be certain that no body can condemn them all.

The life of the author it is almost become a custom to prefix to a new edition of his works; for when we admire the writer, we are curious also to know something of the man: and the life of Milton is not barely a history of his works, but is so much the more interesting, as he was more engaged in public affairs than poets usually are. And it has happened that more accounts have been written of his life, than of almost any author's, particularly by Antony Wood in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, by our author's nephew Mr. Edward Philips before the English translation of Milton's State-letters printed in 1694, by Mr. Toland before the edition of our author's prose works in three volumes folio printed in 1698, by Monsieur Bayle in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, by Mr. Fenton before the edition of our author's poetical works printed in 1725, by Mr. Richardson in the preface to his *Explanatory Notes and Remarks upon Milton's Paradise Lost*, and by the reverend and ingenious Mr. Thomas Birch in the *General Dictionary*, and more largely before the edition of our author's prose works in two volumes folio printed in 1738. And I have not only read and com-

P R E F A C E.

pared these accounts together, and made the best extracts out of them which I possibly could; but have also collected some other particulars from Milton's own works as well as from other authors, and from credible tradition as well as from written testimonies: and all these, like so many different threds, I have woven into one piece, and formed into a continued narration, of which, whether it affords more or less satisfaction and entertainment than former accounts, the reader must judge and determin: but it has been my study and endeavor, as in the notes to comprise the flower of all other notes, so in the life to include the substance of all former lives, and with improvements and additions.

In the conclusion are added copious indexes, one of the principal matters, and another of the words. The man, who is at the pains of making indexes, is really to be pitied; but of their great utility there is no need to say any thing, when several persons, who pass in the world for profound scholars, know little more of books than title-pages and indexes, but never catch the spirit of an author, which is sure always to evaporate or die in such hands.

As the business of this preface is to open and explain the use and intent of the present edition, and likewise to acknowledge what helps and assistances I have received towards completing it, I cannot conclude without returning my thanks to my subscribers, those of them especially who have not only honored me with their own names, but also by procuring others, and particularly to Lord and Lady Carpenter for a long series of favors, having lived above fifteen years in the most easy agreeable manner in their family.

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L I F E O F M I L T O N.

IT is agreed among all writers, that the family of Milton came originally from Milton in Oxfordshire; but from which of the Miltons is not altogether so certain. Some say, and particularly Mr. Philips, that the family was of Milton near Abington in Oxfordshire, where it had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton-church. But that Milton is not in Oxfordshire, but in Berkshire; and upon inquiry I find, that there are no such monuments in that church, nor any remains of them. It is more probable therefore that the family came, as Mr. Wood says, from Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire: where it flourished several years, till at last the estate was sequester'd, one of the family having taken the unfortunate side in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. John Milton, the poet's grand-father, was, according to Mr. Wood, an under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover near Halton in Oxfordshire; he was of the religion of Rome, and such a bigot that he disinherited his son only for being a protestant. Upon this the son, the poet's father, named likewise John Milton, settled in London, and became a scrivener by the advice of a friend eminent in that profession: but he was not so devoted to gain and to business, as to lose all taste of the politer arts, and was particularly skilled in music, in which he was not only a fine performer, but is also celebrated for several pieces of his composition: and yet on the other hand he was not so fond of his music and amusements, as in the least to neglect his business, but by his diligence and œconomy acquired a competent estate, which enabled him afterwards to retire, and live in the country. He was by all accounts a very worthy man; and married an excellent woman, Sarah of the ancient family of the Bradshaws, says Mr. Wood; but Mr. Philips, our author's nephew, who was more likely to know, says, of the family of the Castons derived
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originally from Wales. Whoever she was, she is said to have been a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness; and by her husband had two sons and a daughter.

The elder of the sons was our famous poet, who was born in the year of our Lord 1608, on the 9th of December in the morning between 6 and 7 o'clock, in Bread-street London, where his father lived at the sign of the spread eagle, which was also the coat of arms of the family. He was named John, as his father and grand-father had been before him; and from the beginning discovering the marks of an uncommon genius, he was designed for a scholar, and had his education partly under private tutors, and partly at a public school. It has been often controverted whether a public or private education is best, but young Milton was so happy as to share the advantages of both. It appears from the fourth of his Latin elegies, and from the first and fourth of his familiar epistles, that Mr. Thomas Young, who was afterwards pastor of the company of English merchants residing at Hamburg, was one of his private preceptors: and when he had made good progress in his studies at home, he was sent to St. Paul's school, to be fitted for the university under the care of Mr. Gill, who was the master at that time, and to whose son are addressed some of his familiar epistles. In this early time of his life such was his love of learning, and so great was his ambition to surpass his equals, that from his twelfth year he commonly continued his studies till midnight, which (as he says himself in his second Defense) was the first ruin of his eyes, to whose natural debility were added too frequent head-akes: but all could not extinguish or abate his laudable passion for letters. It is very seldom seen, that such application and such a genius meet in the same person. The force of either is great, but both together must perform wonders.

He was now in the 17th year of his age, and was a very good classical scholar and master of several languages, when he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and admitted at Christ's College (as appears from the register) on the 12th of February 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Ross in Ireland. He continued above seven years at the university, and took two degrees,
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that of Bachelor of Arts in 1628-9, and that of Master in 1632. It is somewhat remarkable, that tho' the merits of both our universities are perhaps equally great, and tho' poetical exercises are rather more encouraged at Oxford, yet most of our greatest poets have been bred at Cambridge, as Spenser, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Prior, not to mention any of the lesser ones, when there is a greater than all, Milton. He had given early proofs of his poetic genius before he went to the university, and there he excelled more and more, and distinguished himself by several copies of verses upon occasional subjects, as well as by all his academical exercises, many of which are printed among his other works, and shew him to have had a capacity above his years: and by his obliging behaviour added to his great learning and ingenuity he deservedly gained the affection of many, and admiration of all. We do not find however that he obtained any preferment in the university, or a fellowship in his own college; which seemeth the more extraordinary, as that society has always encouraged learning and learned men, had the most excellent Mr. Mede at that time a fellow, and afterwards boasteth the great names of Cudworth, and Burnet author of the Theory of the Earth, and several others. And this together with some Latin verses of his to a friend, reflecting upon the university seemingly on this account, might probably have given occasion to the reproach which was afterwards cast upon him by his adversaries, that he was expelled from the university for irregularities committed there, and forced to fly to Italy: but he sufficiently refutes this calumny in more places than one of his works; and indeed it is no wonder, that a person so engaged in religious and political controversies, as he was, should be calumniated and abused by the contrary party.

He was designed by his parents for holy orders; and among the manuscripts of Trinity College in Cambridge there are two draughts in Milton's own hand of a letter to a friend, who had importuned him to take orders, when he had attained the age of twenty three: but the truth is, he had conceived early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and subscribing to the Articles was in his opinion subscribing slave. This no doubt was a disappointment to his friends,

friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances: and neither doth he seem to have had any inclination to any other profession; he had too free a spirit to be limited and confined; and was for comprehending all sciences, but professing none. And therefore after he had left the university in 1632, he retired to his father's house in the country; for his father had by this time quitted business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton near Colebrooke in Buckinghamshire. Here he resided with his parents for the space of five years, and, as he himself has informed us, (in his second Defense, and the 7th of his familiar epistles) read over all the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians; but now and then made an excursion to London, sometimes to buy books or to meet his friends from Cambridge, and at other times to learn something new in the mathematics or music, with which he was extremely delighted.

His retirement therefore was a learned retirement, and it was not long before the world reaped the fruits of it. It was in the year 1634 that his *Mask* was presented at Ludlow-castle. There was formerly a president of Wales, and a sort of a court kept at Ludlow, which has since been abolished; and the president at that time was the Earl of Bridgwater, before whom Milton's *Mask* was presented on Michaelmas night, and the principal parts, those of the two brothers were performed by his Lordship's sons the Lord Brackly and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and that of the lady by his Lordship's daughter the Lady Alice Egerton. The occasion of this poem seemeth to have been merely an accident of the two brothers and the lady having lost one another in their way to the castle: and it is written very much in imitation of Shakespear's *Tempest*, and the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Beaumont and Fletcher; and though one of the first, is yet one of the most beautiful of Milton's compositions. It was for some time handed about only in manuscript; but afterwards to satisfy the importunity of friends and to save the trouble of transcribing, it was printed at London, though without the author's name, in 1637, with a dedication to the Lord Brackly by Mr. H. Lawes, who compos'd the music, and played the part of the attendant Spirit. It was printed likewise at Oxford at the end of Mr. R's poems,

poems, as we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to our author; but who that Mr. R. was, whether Randolph the poet or who else, is uncertain. It has lately, tho' with additions and alterations, been exhibited on the stage several times; and we hope the fine poetry and morality have recommended it to the audience, and not barely the authority of Milton's name; and we wish for the honor of the nation, that the like good taste prevailed in every thing.

In 1637 he wrote another excellent piece, his *Lycidas*, wherein he laments the untimely fate of a friend, who was unfortunately drowned that same year in the month of August, on the Irish seas, in his passage from Chester. This friend was Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles I; and was a fellow of Christ's College, and was so well beloved and esteemed at Cambridge, that some of the greatest names in the university have united in celebrating his obsequies, and published a collection of poems, Greek and Latin and English, sacred to his memory. The Greek by H. More &c; the Latin by T. Farnaby, J. Pearson &c; the English by H. King, J. Beaumont, J. Cleaveland with several others; and judiciously the last of all, as the best of all, is Milton's *Lycidas*. "On such sacrifices the Gods themselves strow incense;" and one would almost wish so to have died, for the sake of having been so lamented. But this poem is not all made up of sorrow and tenderness; there is a mixture of satire and indignation; for in part of it the poet taketh occasion to inveigh against the corruptions of the clergy, and seemeth to have first discovered his acrimony against Archbishop Laud, and to have threaten'd him with the loss of his head, which afterwards happened to him thro' the fury of his enemies. At least I can think of no sense so proper to be given to the following verses in *Lycidas*,

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said;
But that two-handed engin at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

About

About this time, as we learn from one of his familiar epistles, he had some thoughts of taking chambers at one of the Inns of Court, for he was not very well pleased with living so obscurely in the country: but his mother dying, he prevailed with his father to let him indulge a desire, which he had long entertained, of seeing foreign countries, and particularly Italy: and having communicated his design to Sir Henry Wotton, who had formerly been embassador at Venice, and was then Provost of Eton College, and having also sent him his Mask of which he had not yet publicly acknowledged himself the author, he received from him the following friendly letter dated from the College the 10th of April 1638.

S I R,

“ It was a special favor, when You lately bestowed upon me here
 “ the first taste of Your acquaintance, tho’ no longer than to make me
 “ know, that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly.
 “ And in truth, if I could then have imagined Your farther stay in these
 “ parts, which I understood afterwards by Mr. H., I would have been
 “ bold, in our vulgar phrase, to mend my draught, for You left me
 “ with an extreme thirst, and to have begged your conversation again
 “ jointly with Your said learned friend, at a poor meal or two, that
 “ we might have banded together some good authors of the ancient
 “ time, among which I observed You to have been familiar.

“ Since Your going, You have charged me with new obligations,
 “ both for a very kind letter from You, dated the fixth of this month,
 “ and for a dainty piece of entertainment, that came therewith; wherein
 “ I should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not ravish
 “ with a certain Doric delicacy in Your songs and odes, wherein I must
 “ plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language,
 “ *Ipse mollities*. But I must not omit to tell You, that I now only
 “ owe You thanks for intimating unto me, how modestly soever, the
 “ true artificer. For the work itself I had view’d some good while
 “ before with singular delight, having received it from our common
 “ friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late R’s poems printed at
 “ Oxford;

“ Oxford; whereunto it is added, as I now suppose, that the accessory
“ might help out the principal, according to the art of stationers, and
“ leave the reader *con la bocca dolce*.

“ Now, Sir, concerning Your travels, wherein I may challenge a
“ little more privilege of discourse with You; I suppose, You will not
“ blanch Paris in Your way. Therefore I have been bold to trouble
“ You with a few lines to Mr. M. B. whom You shall easily find at-
“ tending the young Lord S. as his governor; and You may surely re-
“ ceive from him good directions for shaping of Your farther journey
“ into Italy, where he did reside by my choice some time for the king,
“ after mine own recess from Venice.

“ I should think, that Your best line will be thro’ the whole length
“ of France to Marseilles, and thence by sea to Genoa, whence the
“ passage into Tuscany is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge. I hasten,
“ as You do, to Florence or Sienna, the rather to tell You a short
“ story, from the interest You have given me in Your safety.

“ At Sienna I was tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipione, an
“ old Roman courtier in dangerous times, having been steward to the
“ Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, save this
“ only man, that escaped by foresight of the tempest. With him I
“ had often much chat of those affairs; into which he took pleasure
“ to look back from his native harbour; and at my departure toward
“ Rome, which had been the center of his experience, I had won con-
“ fidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry myself securely
“ there, without offense of others, or of my own conscience: Signor
“ Arrigo meo, says he, *i pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto*, that is, Your
“ thoughts close, and Your countenance loose, will go safely over the
“ whole world. Of which Delphian oracle (for so I have found it)
“ Your judgment doth need no commentary; and therefore, Sir, I
“ will commit You with it to the best of all securities, God’s dear
“ love, remaining Your friend, as much at command as any of
“ longer date.

H. Wotton.

P. S. “ Sir, I have exprefsly ſent this by my foot-boy to prevent
 “ Your departure, without ſome acknowledgment from me of the re-
 “ ceipt of Your obliging letter, having myſelf thro’ ſome buſineſs, I
 “ know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any part
 “ where I ſhall underſtand You fixed, I ſhall be glad and diligent to
 “ entertain You with home-novelties, even for ſome fomentation of our
 “ friendship, too ſoon interrupted in the cradle.”

Soon after this he ſet out upon his travels, being of an age to make the proper improvements, and not barely to ſee ſights and to learn the languages, like moſt of our modern travelers, who go out boys, and return ſuch as we ſee, but ſuch as I do not chooſe to name. He was attended by only one ſervant, who accompanied him through all his travels; and he went firſt to France, where he had recommendations to the Lord Scudamore, the Engliſh embaffador there at that time; and as ſoon as he came to Paris, he waited upon his Lordſhip, and was received with wonderful civility; and having an earneſt deſire to viſit the learned Hugo Grotius, he was by his Lordſhip’s means introduced to that great man, who was then embaffador at the French court from the famous Chriſtina Queen of Sweden; and the viſit was to their mutual ſatisfaction; they were each of them pleaſed to ſee a perſon, of whom they had heard ſuch commendations. But at Paris he ſtayed not long; his thoughts and his wiſhes haſtened into Italy; and ſo after a few days he took leave of the Lord Scudamore, who very kindly gave him letters to the Engliſh merchants in the ſeveral places thro’ which he was to travel, requeſting them to do him all the good offices which lay in their power.

From Paris he went directly to Nice, where he took ſhipping for Genoa, from whence he went to Leghorn, and thence to Piſa, and ſo to Florence, in which city he found ſufficient inducements to make a ſtay of two months. For beſides the curioſities and other beauties of the place, he took great delight in the company and converſation there, and frequented their academies as they are called, the meetings of the moſt polite and ingenious perſons, which they have in this, as well as
 in

in the other principal cities of Italy, for the exercise and improvement of wit and learning among them. And in these conversations he bore so good a part, and produced so many excellent compositions, that he was soon taken notice of, and was very much courted and carested by several of the nobility and prime wits of Florence. For the manner is, as he says himself in the preface to his second book of the Reason of Church-government, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there, and his productions were received with written encomiums which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps. Jacomo Gaddi, Antonio Francini, Carlo Dati, Benedetto Bonmatthei, Cultellino, Frescobaldi, Clementilli are reckoned among his particular friends. At Gaddi's house the academies were held, which he constantly frequented. Antonio Francini composed an Italian ode in his commendation. Carlo Dati wrote a Latin eulogium of him, and corresponded with him after his return to England. Bonmatthei was at that time about publishing an Italian grammar; and the eighth of our author's familiar epistles, dated at Florence Sept. 10. 1638, is addressed to him upon that occasion, commending his design, and advising him to add some observations concerning the true pronunciation of that language for the use of foreigners.

So much good acquaintance would probably have detained him longer at Florence, if he had not been going to Rome, which to a curious traveler is certainly the place the most worth seeing of any in the world. And so he took leave of his friends at Florence, and went from thence to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he stayed much about the same time that he had continued at Florence, feasting both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities of the city, as well as with the conversation of several learned and ingenious men, and particularly of Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who received him with the greatest humanity, and showed him all the Greek authors, whether in print or in manuscript, which had passed thro' his correction; and also presented him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of music, performed at his own expense, waited for him at

the door, and taking him by the hand brought him into the assembly. The next morning he waited upon the Cardinal to return him thanks for his civilities, and by the means of Holstenius was again introduced to his Eminence, and spent some time in conversation with him. It seems that Holstenius had studied three years at Oxford, and this might dispose him to be more friendly to the English, but he took a particular liking and affection to Milton; and Milton, to thank him for all his favors, wrote to him afterwards from Florence the ninth of his familiar epistles. At Rome too Selvaggi made a Latin distich in honor of Milton, and Salsilli a Latin tetraстich, celebrating him for his Greek and Latin and Italian poetry; and he in return presented to Salsilli in his sickness those fine Scazons, or Iambic verses having a spondee in the last foot, which are inserted among his juvenile poems.

From Rome he went to Naples, in company with a certain hermit; and by his means was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, of singular merit and virtue, to whom Taffo addresses his dialogue of friendship, and whom he mentions likewise in his *Gierusalemme Liberata* with great honor. This nobleman was particularly civil to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and went with him to show him the Viceroy's palace, and whatever was curious or worth notice in the city: and moreover he honored him so far as to make a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before our author's Latin poems, as is likewise the other of Selvaggi, and the Latin tetraстich of Salsilli together with the Italian ode and the Latin eulogium before mentioned. We may suppose that Milton was not a little pleased with the honors conferred upon him by so many persons of distinction, and especially by one of such quality and eminence as the Marquis of Villa; and as a testimony of his gratitude he presented to the Marquis at his departure from Naples his eclogue intitled *Mansus*, which is well worth reading among his Latin poems. So that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity of the Marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Taffo and Milton, the one the greatest modern poet of his own, and the other the greatest of foreign nations.

Having

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, Milton was now thinking of passing over into Sicily and Greece, when he was diverted from his purpose by the news from England, that things were tending to a civil war between the King and Parliament; for he thought it unworthy of himself to be taking his pleasure abroad, while his countrymen were contending for liberty at home. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, tho' he was advised to the contrary by the merchants, who had received intelligence from their correspondents, that the English Jesuits there were forming plots against him, in case he should return thither, by reason of the great freedom which he had used in all his discourses of religion. For he had by no means observed the rule, recommended to him by Sir Henry Wotton, of keeping his thoughts close and his countenance open: He had visited Galileo, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for asserting the motion of the earth, and thinking otherwise in astronomy than the Dominicans and Franciscans thought: And tho' the Marquis of Villa had shown him such distinguishing marks of favor at Naples, yet he told him at his departure that he would have shown him much greater, if he had been more reserved in matters of religion. But he had a soul above dissimulation and disguise; he was neither afraid, nor ashamed to vindicate the truth; and if any man had, he had in him the spirit of an old martyr. He was so prudent indeed, that he would not of his own accord begin any discourse of religion; but at the same time he was so honest, that if he was questioned at all about his faith, he would not dissemble his sentiments, whatever was the consequence. And with this resolution he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining openly to defend the truth, if any thought proper to attack him: and yet, God's good providence protecting him, he came safe to his kind friends at Florence, where he was received with as much joy and affection, as if he had returned into his own country.

Here likewise he stayed two months, as he had done before, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca: and then crossing the Apennine, and passing thro' Bologna and Ferrara, he came to Venice,
in

in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books, which he had collected in his travels, and particularly a chest or two of choice music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, he took his course thro' Verona, Milan, and along the lake Leman to Geneva. In this city he tarried some time, meeting here with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the most learned professor of divinity, whose annotations upon the Bible are published in English. And from thence returning thro' France, the same way that he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after a peregrination of one year and about three months, having seen more, and learned more, and conversed with more famous men, and made more real improvements, than most others in double the time.

His first business after his return was to pay his duty to his father, and to visit his other friends; but this pleasure was much diminished by the loss of his dear friend and schoolfellow Charles Deodati in his absence. While he was abroad, he heard it reported that he was dead; and upon his coming home he found it but too true, and lamented his death in an excellent Latin eclogue intitled *Epitaphium Damonis*. This Deodati had a father originally of Lucca, but his mother was English, and he was born and bred in England, and studied physic, and was an admirable scholar, and no less remarkable for his sobriety and other virtues than for his great learning and ingenuity. One or two of Milton's familiar epistles are addressed to him; and Mr. Toland says, that he had in his hands two Greek letters of Deodati to Milton, very handsomely written. It may be right for scholars now and then to exercise themselves in Greek and Latin; but we have much more frequent occasion to write letters in our own native language, and in that therefore we should principally endeavor to excel.

Milton, soon after his return, had taken a lodging at one Ruffel's, a taylor, in St. Bride's Church-yard; but he continued not long there, having not sufficient room for his library and furniture; and therefore determined to take a house, and accordingly took a handsome garden-house in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, which was the

the more agreeable to a studious man for its privacy and freedom from noise and disturbance. And in this house he continued several years, and his sister's two sons were put to board with him, first the younger and afterwards the elder: and some other of his intimate friends requested of him the same favor for their sons, especially since there was little more trouble in instructing half a dozen than two or three: and he, who could not easily deny any thing to his friends, and who knew that the greatest men in all ages had delighted in teaching others the principles of knowledge and virtue, undertook the office, not out of any sordid and mercenary views, but merely from a benevolent disposition, and a desire to do good. And his method of education was as much above the pedantry and jargon of the common schools, as his genius was superior to that of a common schoolmaster. One of his nephews has given us an account of the many authors both Latin and Greek, which (besides those usually read in the schools) thro' his excellent judgment and way of teaching were run over within no greater compass of time, than from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, Cornelius Celsus the physician, a great part of Pliny's Natural History, the Architecture of Vitruvius, the Stratagems of Frontinus, and the philosophical poets Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek Hesiod, Aratus's Phænomena and Diosemeia, Dionysius Afer de situ orbis, Oppian's Cynegetics and Halieutics, Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war continued from Homer, Apollonius Rhodius's Argonautics, and in prose Plutarch's Placita philosophorum, and of the education of children, Xenophon's Cyropædia and Anabasis, Ælian's Tactics, and the Stratagems of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go thro' the Pentateuch or five books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and French, and a competent knowledge of the mathematics and astronomy. The Sunday's exercise for his pupils was
for

for the most part to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and to hear his learned exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from the ablest divines, who had written upon that subject. Such were his academic institutions; and thus by teaching others he in some measure enlarged his own knowledge; and having the reading of so many authors as it were by proxy, he might possibly have preserved his sight, if he had not moreover been perpetually busied in reading or writing something himself. It was certainly a very recluse and studious life, that both he and his pupils led; but the young men of that age were of a different turn from those of the present; and he himself gave an example to those under him of hard study and spare diet; only now and then, once in three weeks or a month, he made a gawdy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance, the chief of whom, says Mr. Philips, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, both of Gray's-Inn, and two of the greatest beaux of those times.

But he was not so fond of this academical life, as to be an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public stage of the world. The nation was now in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamor run high against the bishops, when he joined loudly in the cry, to help the puritan ministers, (as he says himself in his second Defense) they being inferior to the bishops in learning and eloquence; and published his two books, *Of Reformation in England*, written to a friend. About the same time certain ministers having published a treatise against episcopacy, in answer to the Humble Remonstrance of Dr. Joseph Hall Bishop of Norwich, under the title of *Smectymnuus*, a word consisting of the initial letters of their names, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; and Archbishop Usher having published at Oxford a refutation of *Smectymnuus*, in a tract concerning the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans; Milton wrote his little piece *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, in opposition chiefly to Usher, for he was for contending with the most powerful adversary; there would be either less disgrace in the defeat, or more glory in the victory. He handled the subject more at large in his next performance,
which

which was the Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty, in two books. And Bishop Hall having published a Defense of the Humble Remonstrance, he wrote Animadversions upon it. All these treatises he published within the course of one year, 1641, which show how very diligent he was in the cause that he had undertaken. And the next year he set forth his Apology for Smectymnuus, in answer to the Confutation of his Animadversions, written as he thought himself by Bishop Hall or his son. And here very luckily ended a controversy, which detained him from greater and better writings which he was meditating, more useful to the public, as well as more suitable to his own genius and inclination: but he thought all this while that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty.

In the year 1643, and the 35th of his age, he married; and indeed his family was now growing so numerous, that it wanted a mistress at the head of it. His father, who had lived with his younger son at Reading, was, upon the taking of that place by the forces under the Earl of Essex, necessitated to come and live in London with this his elder son, with whom he continued in tranquillity and devotion to his dying day. Some addition too was to be made to the number of his pupils. But before his father or his new pupils were come, he took a journey in the Whitsuntide vacation, and after a month's absence returned with a wife, Mary the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Foresthill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman of good repute and figure in that country. But she had not cohabited with her husband above a month, before she was earnestly solicited by her relations to come and spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. If it was not at her instigation that her friends made this request, yet at least it was agreeable to her inclination; and she obtained her husband's consent upon a promise of returning at Michaelmas. And in the mean while his studies went on very vigorously; and his chief diversion, after the business of the day, was now and then in an evening to visit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Privy Council to King James I. This Lady, being

a woman of excellent wit and understanding, had a particular honor for our author, and took great delight in his conversation ; as likewise did her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman. And what a regard Milton again had for her, he has left upon record in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

Michaelmas was now come, but he heard nothing of his wife's return. He wrote to her, but received no answer. He wrote again letter after letter, but received no answer to any of them. He then dispatched a messenger with a letter, desiring her to return ; but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Whether it was, that she had conceived any dislike to her husband's person or humor ; or whether she could not conform to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to a house of much gaiety and company ; or whether being of a family strongly attached to the royal cause, she could not bear her husband's republican principles ; or whether she was overpersuaded by her relations, who possibly might repent of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a man so distinguished for taking the contrary party, the King's head-quarters being in their neighbourhood at Oxford, and his Majesty having now some fairer prospect of success ; whether any or all of these were the reasons of this extraordinary behaviour ; however it was, it so highly incensed her husband, that he thought it would be dishonorable ever to receive her again after such a repulse, and he determined to repudiate her as she had in effect repudiated him, and to consider her no longer as his wife. And to fortify this his resolution, and at the same time to justify it to the world, he wrote the *Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*, wherein he endeavors to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation. He published it at first without his name, but the stile easily betrayed the author ; and afterwards a second edition, much augmented, with his name ; and he dedicated

dedicated it to the Parliament of England with the Assembly of Divines, that as they were then consulting about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might also take this particular case of domestic liberty into their consideration. And then, as it was objected, that his doctrine was a novel notion, and a paradox that no body had ever asserted before, he endeavored to confirm his own opinion by the authority of others, and published in 1644 the Judgment of Martin Bucer &c: And as it was still objected, that his doctrine could not be reconciled to Scripture, he published in 1645 his Tetrachordon or Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture, which treat of marriage, or nullities in marriage. At the first appearing of the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce the clergy raised a heavy outcry against it, and daily solicited the Parliament to pass some censure upon it; and at last one of them, in a sermon preached before the Lords and Commons on a day of humiliation in August 1644, roundly told them, that there was a book abroad which deserved to be burnt, and that among their other sins they ought to repent, that they had not yet branded it with some mark of their displeasure. And Mr. Wood informs us, that upon Milton's publishing his three books of Divorce, the Assembly of Divines, that was then sitting at Westminster, took special notice of them; and notwithstanding his former services in writing against the Bishops, caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords: but that House, whether approving his doctrine, or not favoring his accusers, soon dismissed him. He was attacked too from the press as well as from the pulpit, in a pamphlet intitled Divorce at pleasure, and in another intitled an Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, which was licenced and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a famous Presbyterian Divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job: and Milton in his Colasterion or Reply published in 1645 expostulates smartly with the licencer, as well as handles very roughly the nameless author. And these provocations, I suppose, contributed not a little to make him such an enemy to the Presbyterians, to whom he had before distinguished himself a friend. He composed likewise two of his sonnets on the re-

ception his book of Divorce met with, but the latter is much the better of the two. To this account it may be added from Antony Wood, that after the King's restoration, when the subject of divorce was under consideration with the Lords upon the account of John Lord Ros or Roos his separation from his wife Anne Pierpoint eldest daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorchester, he was consulted by an eminent member of that House, and about the same time by a chief officer of state, as being the prime person who was knowing in that affair.

But while he was engaged in this controversy of divorce, he was not so totally engaged in it, but he attended to other things; and about this time published his letter of Education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, who wrote some things about husbandry, and was a man of considerable learning, as appears from Sir William Petty's and Pell the mathematician's writing to him, the former his treatise for the Advancement of some particular parts of learning, and the latter his Idea of the Mathematics, as well as from this letter of our author. This letter of our author has usually been printed at the end of his poems, and is as I may say the theory of his own practice; and by the rules which he has laid down for education we see in some measure the method that he pursued in educating his own pupils. And in 1644 he published his Areopagitica or Speech for the liberty of unlicenced printing to the Parliament of England. It was written at the desire of several learned men, and is perhaps the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press: but alas it had not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licencing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates. And Mr. Toland is mistaken in saying, "that such was the effect of this piece, that the following year Mabol a licencer offered reasons against licencing; and at his own request was discharged that office." For neither was the licencer's name Mabol, but Gilbert Mabbot; neither was he discharged from

from his office till May 1649, about five years afterwards, tho' probably he might be swayed by Milton's arguments, as every ingenuous person must, who peruses and considers them. And in 1645 was published a collection of his poems, Latin and English, the principal of which are On the morning of Christ's nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas, the Mask &c &c: and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, these would have been sufficient to have rendered his name immortal.

But without doubt his Doctrin of Divorce and the maintenance of it principally engaged his thoughts at this period; and whether others were convinced or not by his arguments, he was certainly convinced himself that he was in the right; and as a proof of it he determined to marry again, and made his addressees to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis. But intelligence of this coming to his wife, and the then declining state of the King's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of Justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work to restore the wife again to her husband. And his friends too for different reasons seem to have been as desirous of bringing about a reconciliation as her's, and this method of effecting it was concerted between them. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in the lane of St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often visited; and one day when he was visiting there, it was contrived that the wife should be ready in another room; and as he was thinking of nothing less, he was surprised to see her, whom he had expected never to have seen any more, falling down upon her knees at his feet, and imploring his forgiveness with tears. At first he showed some signs of aversion, but he continued not long inexorable; his wife's intreaties, and the intercession of friends on both sides soon wrought upon his generous nature, and procured a happy reconciliation with an act of oblivion of all that was past. But he did not take his wife home immediately; it was agreed that she should remain at a friend's, till the house, that he had newly taken, was fitted for their reception; for some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, having observed the great success of his method of education, had recommended their sons to

to his care; and his house in Aldersgate-street not being large enough, he had taken a larger in Barbican: and till this could be got ready, the place pitched upon for his wife's abode was the widow Webber's house in St. Clement's Churchyard, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother many years before. The part, that Milton acted in this whole affair, showed plainly that he had a spirit capable of the strongest resentment, but yet more inclinable to pity and forgiveness: and neither in this was any injury done to the other lady, whom he was courting, for she is said to have been always averse from the motion, not daring I suppose to venture in marriage with a man who was known to have a wife still living. He might not think himself too at liberty as before, while his wife continued obstinate; for his most plausible argument for divorce proceeds upon a supposition, that the thing be done with mutual consent.

After his wife's return his family was increased not only with children, but also with his wife's relations, her father and mother, her brothers and sisters, coming to live with him in the general distress and ruin of the royal party: and he was so far from resenting their former ill treatment of him, that he generously protected them, and entertained them very hospitably, till their affairs were accommodated thro' his interest with the prevailing faction. And then upon their removal, and the death of his own father, his house looked again like the house of the Muses: but his studies had like to have been interrupted by a call to public business; for about this time there was a design of constituting him Adjutant General in the army under Sir William Waller; but the new modeling of the army soon following, that design was laid aside. And not long after, his great house in Barbican being now too large for his family, he quitted it for a smaller in High Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he prosecuted his studies till the King's trial and death, when the Presbyterians declaiming tragically against the King's execution, and asserting that his person was sacred and inviolable, provoked him to write the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawful to call a tyrant to account and to depose and put him to death, and that they who of late
so

so much blame deposing are the men who did it themselves: and he published it at the beginning of the year 1649, to satisfy and compose the minds of the people. Not long after this he wrote his Observations on the articles of peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish rebels. And in these and all his writings, whatever others of different parties may think, he thought himself an advocate for true liberty, for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against the bishops, for domestic liberty in his books of divorce, and for civil liberty in his writings against the king in defense of the parliament and people of England.

After this he retired again to his private studies; and thinking that he had leisure enough for such a work, he applied himself to the writing of a History of England, which he intended to deduce from the earliest accounts down to his own times: and he had finished four books of it, when neither courting nor expecting any such preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be their Latin Secretary for foreign affairs. And he served in the same capacity under Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the Restoration; and without doubt a better Latin pen could not have been found in the kingdom. For the Republic and Cromwell scorned to pay that tribute to any foreign prince, which is usually paid to the French king, of managing their affairs in his language; they thought it an indignity and meanness, to which this or any free nation ought not to submit; and took a noble resolution neither to write any letters to any foreign states, nor to receive any answers from them, but in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all. And it would have been well, if succeeding princes had followed their example; for in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.

But it was not only in foreign dispatches that the government made use of his pen. He had discharged the business of his office a very little time, before he was called to a work of another kind. For soon after the King's death was published a book under his name intitled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, or the royal image: and this book, like Cæsar's last will,

will, making a deeper impresson, and exciting greater commiseration in the minds of the people, than the King himself did while alive, Milton was ordered to prepare an answer to it, which was published by authority, and intituled *Εἰκονοκλασῆς* or the image-breaker, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal against idolatry broke all superstitious images to pieces. This piece was translated into French; and two replies to it were published, one in 1651, and the other in 1692, upon the reprinting of Milton's book at Amsterdam.

But his most celebrated work in prose is his Defense of the people of England against Salmasius, *Defensio pro populo Anglicano contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*. Salmasius, by birth a Frenchman, succeeded the famous Scaliger as honorary Professor of the university of Leyden, and had gained great reputation by his Plinian Exercitations on Solinus, and by his critical remarks on several Latin and Greek authors, and was generally esteemed one of the greatest and most consummate scholars of that age: and is commended by Milton himself in his Reason of Church Government, and called the learned Salmasius. And besides his great learning he had extraordinary talents in railing. "This prince of scholars, as some body said of him, seemed to have erected his throne upon a heap of stones, that he might have them at hand to throw at every one's head who passed by." He was therefore courted by Charles II, as the most able man to write a defense of the late King his father and to traduce his adversaries, and a hundred Jacobuses were given him for that purpose, and the book was published in 1649 with this title *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II.* No sooner did this book appear in England, but the Council of State unanimously appointed Milton, who was then present, to answer it: and he performed the task with amazing spirit and vigor, tho' his health at that time was such, that he could hardly indure the fatigue of writing, and being weak in body he was forced to write by piece-meal, and to break off almost every hour, as he says himself in the introduction. This necessarily occasioned some delay, so that his Defense of the people of England was not made

made public till the beginning of the year 1651: and they who cannot read the original, may yet have the pleasure of reading the English translation by Mr. Washington of the Temple, which was printed in 1692, and is inserted among Milton's works in the two last editions. It was somewhat extraordinary, that Salmasius, a pensioner to a republic, should pretend to write a defense of monarchy; but the States showed their disapprobation by publicly condemning his book, and ordering it to be suppressed. And on the other hand Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Tolouse by the hands of the common hangman; but this served only to procure it the more readers: it was read and talked of every where, and even they who were of different principles, yet could not but acknowledge that he was a good defender of a bad cause; and Salmasius's book underwent only one impression, while this of Milton passed thro' several editions. On the first appearance of it, he was visited or invited by all the foreign ministers at London, not excepting even those of crowned heads; and was particularly honored and esteemed by Adrian Paaw, ambassador from the States of Holland. He was likewise highly complimented by letters from the most learned and ingenious persons in France and Germany; and Leonard Philaras, an Athenian born, and ambassador from the Duke of Parma to the French king, wrote a fine encomium of his Defense, and sent him his picture, as appears from Milton's letter to Philaras dated at London in June 1652. And what gave him the greatest satisfaction, the work was highly applauded by those, who had desired him to undertake it; and they made him a present of a thousand pounds, which in those days of frugality was reckoned no inconsiderable reward for his performance. But the case was far otherwise with Salmasius. He was then in high favor at the court of Christina Queen of Sweden, who had invited thither several of the most learned men of all countries: but when Milton's Defense of the people of England was brought to Sweden, and was read to the Queen at her own desire, he sunk immediately in her esteem and the opinion of every body; and tho' he talked big at first, and vowed the destruction of Milton and the Parliament, yet finding that he was looked upon with coldness, he thought

proper to take leave of the court; and he who came in honor, was dismissed with contempt. He died some time afterwards at Spa in Germany, and it is said more of a broken heart than of any distemper, leaving a posthumous reply to Milton, which was not published till after the Restoration, and was dedicated to Charles II. by his son Claudius; but it has done no great honor to his memory, abounding with abuse much more than argument.

Isaac Vossius was at Stockholm, when Milton's book was brought thither, and in some of his letters to Nicolas Heinsius, published by Professor Burman in the third tome of his *Sylloge Epistolarum*, he says, that he had the only copy of Milton's book, that the Queen borrowed it of him, and was very much pleased with it, and commended Milton's wit and manner of writing in the presence of several persons, and that Salmasius was very angry, and very busy in preparing his answer, wherein he abused Milton as if he had been one of the vilest catamites in Italy, and also criticized his Latin poems. Heinsius writes again to Vossius from Holland, that he wondered that only one copy of Milton's book was brought to Stockholm, when three were sent thither, one to the Queen, another to Vossius which he had received, and the third to Salmasius; that the book was in every body's hands, and there had been four editions in a few months besides the English one; that a Dutch translation was handed about, and a French one was expected. And afterwards he writes from Venice, that Holstenius had lent him Milton's Latin poems; that they were nothing, compared with the elegance of his *Apology*; that he had offended frequently against prosody, and here was a great opening for Salmasius's criticism: but as to Milton's having been a catamite in Italy, he says, that it was a mere calumny; on the contrary he was disliked by the Italians, for the severity of his manners, and for the freedom of his discourses against popery. And in others of his letters to Vossius and to J. Fr. Gronovius from Holland, Heinsius mentions how angry Salmasius was with him for commending Milton's book, and says that Grafwinkelius had written something against Milton, which was to have been printed by Elzevir, but it was suppressed by public authority.

The

The first reply that appeared was published in 1651, and intitled an Apology for the king and people &c, *Apologia pro rege & populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem destructivam regis & populi Anglicani*. It is not known, who was the author of this piece. Some attributed it to one Janus a lawyer of Grays-Inn, and others to Dr. John Bramhall, who was then Bishop of Derry, and was made Primate of Ireland after the Restoration: but it is utterly improbable, that so mean a performance, written in such barbarous Latin, and so full of solœcisms, should come from the hands of a prelate of such distinguished abilities and learning. But whoever was the author of it, Milton did not think it worth his while to animadvert upon it himself, but employed the younger of his nephews to answer it; but he supervised and corrected the answer so much before it went to the press, that it may in a manner be called his own. It came forth in 1652 under this title, *Johannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro rege & populo Anglicano infantissimam*; and it is printed with Milton's works; and throughout the whole Mr. Philips treats Bishop Bramhall with great severity as the author of the Apology, thinking probably that so considerable an adversary would make the answer more considerable.

Sir Robert Filmer likewise published some animadversions upon Milton's Defense of the people, in a piece printed in 1652, and intitled *Observations concerning the original of government*, upon Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Mr. Milton against *Salmasius*, and *Hugo Grotius de Jure belli*: but I do not find that Milton or any of his friends took any notice of it; but Milton's quarrel was afterwards sufficiently avenged by Mr. Locke, who wrote against Sir Robert Filmer's principles of government, more I suppose in condescension to the prejudices of the age, than out of any regard to the weight or importance of Filmer's arguments.

It is probable that Milton, when he was first made Latin Secretary, removed from his house in High Holborn to be nearer Whitehall: and for some time he had lodgings at one Thomson's next door to the

Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into Spring-Garden, till the apartment, appointed for him in Scotland-Yard, could be got ready for his reception. He then removed thither; and there his third child, a son was born and named John, who thro' the ill usage or bad constitution of the nurse died an infant. His own health too was greatly impaired; and for the benefit of the air, he removed from his apartment in Scotland-Yard to a house in Petty-France Westminster, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and opened into St. James's Park; and there he remained eight years, from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the King's restoration. In this house he had not been settled long, before his first wife died in childbed; and his condition requiring some care and attendance, he was easily induced after a proper interval of time to marry a second, who was Catharine daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney: and she too died in childbed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after her; and her husband has done honor to her memory in one of his sonnets.

Two or three years before this second marriage he had totally lost his sight. And his enemies triumphed in his blindness, and imputed it as a judgment upon him for writing against the King: but his sight had been decaying several years before, thro' his close application to study, and the frequent head-akes to which he had been subject from his childhood, and his continual tampering with physick, which perhaps was more pernicious than all the rest: and he himself has informed us in his second Defense, that when he was appointed by authority to write his Defense of the people against Salmasius, he had almost lost the sight of one eye, and the physicians declared to him, that if he undertook that work, he would also lose the sight of the other: but he was nothing discouraged, and chose rather to lose both his eyes than desert what he thought his duty. It was the sight of his left eye that he lost first: and at the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras the Duke of Parma's minister at Paris he sent him a particular account of his case, and of the manner of his growing blind, for him to consult Thevenot the physician, who was reckoned famous in cases

cases of the eyes. The letter is the fifteenth of his familiar epistles, and is dated Septemb. 28. 1654: but it does not appear what answer he received; we may presume, none that administered any relief. His blindness however did not disable him entirely from performing the business of his office. An assistant was allowed him, and his salary as secretary still continued to him.

And there was farther occasion for his service besides dictating of letters. For the controversy with Salmasius did not die with him, and there was published at the Hague in 1652 a book intitled the Cry of the King's blood &c, *Regii sanguinis Clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*. The true author of this book was Peter du Moulin the younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury: and he transmitted his papers to Salmasius; and Salmasius intrusted them to the care of Alexander Morus, a French minister; and Morus published them with a dedication to King Charles II. in the name of Adrian Ulac the printer, from whence he came to be reputed the author of the whole. This Morus was the son of a learned Scotsman, who was president of the college, which the protestants had formerly at Castres in Languedoc; and he is said to have been a man of a most haughty disposition, and immoderately addicted to women, hasty, ambitious, full of himself and his own performances, and satirical upon all others. He was however esteemed one of the most eminent preachers of that age among the protestants; but as Monsieur Bayle observes, his chief talent must have consisted in the gracefulness of his delivery, or in those sallies of imagination and quaint turns and allusions, whereof his sermons are full; for they retain not those charms in reading, which they were said to have formerly in the pulpit. Against this man therefore, as the reputed author of *Regii sanguinis Clamor* &c, Milton published by authority his Second Defense of the people of England, *Defensio Secunda pro populo Anglicano*, in 1654, and treats Morus with such severity as nothing could have excused, if he had not been provoked to it by so much abuse poured upon himself. There is one piece of his wit, which had been published before in the news-papers at London, a distich upon Morus for getting Pontia the maid-servant of his friend Salmasius with child.

Galli

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?

Upon this Morus published his *Fides Publica* in answer to Milton, in which he inserted several testimonies of his orthodoxy and morals signed by the consistories, academies, synods, and magistrates of the places where he had lived; and disowned his being the author of the book imputed to him, and appealed to two gentlemen of great credit with the Parliament party, who knew the real author. This brought Du Moulin, who was then in England, into great danger; but the government suffered him to escape with impunity, rather than they would publicly contradict the great patron of their cause. For he still persisted in his accusation, and endeavored to make it good in his *Defense of himself, Autoris pro se Defensio*, which was published in 1655, wherein he opposed to the testimonies in favor of Morus other testimonies against him; and Morus replied no more.

After this controversy was ended, he was at leisure again to pursue his own private studies, which were the History of England before mentioned, and a new *Thesaurus* of the Latin tongue, intended as an improvement upon that by Robert Stephens; a work, which he had been long collecting from the best and purest Latin authors, and continued at times almost to his dying day: but his papers were left so confused and imperfect, that they could not be fitted for the press, tho' great use was made of them by the compilers of the Cambridge Dictionary printed in 1693. These papers are said to have consisted of three large volumes in folio; and it is a great pity that they are lost, and no account is given what is become of the manuscript. It is commonly said too that at this time he began his famous poem of *Paradise Lost*; and it is certain, that he was glad to be released from those controversies, which detained him so long from following things more agreeable to his natural genius and inclination, tho' he was far from ever repenting of his writings in defense of liberty, but gloried in them to the last.

The only interruption now of his private studies was the business of his office. In 1655 there was published in Latin a writing in the name of the Lord Protector, setting forth the reasons of the war with Spain: and this piece is rightly adjudged to our author, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the stile, and because it was his province to write such things as Latin Secretary; and it is printed among his other prose-works in the last edition. And for the same reasons I am inclined to think, that the famous Latin verses to Christina Queen of Sweden in the name of Cromwell were made by our author rather than Andrew Marvel. In those days they had admirable intelligence in the Secretary's office; and Mr. Philips relates a memorable instance or two upon his own knowledge. The Dutch were sending a plenipotentiary to England to treat of peace; but the emissaries of the government had the art to procure a copy of his instructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his kinsman who was then with him, to translate them for the use of the Council, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; and an answer to all that he had in charge was prepared, and lay ready for him before he made his public entry into London. Another time a person came to London with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the Prince of Conde, who was then in arms against Cardinal Mazarine: but the government suspecting him set their instruments to work so successfully, that in a few days they received intelligence from Paris, that he was a spy employed by Charles II: whereupon the very next morning Milton's kinsman was sent to him with an order of Council, commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days, or expect the punishment of a spy. This kinsman was in all probability Mr. Philips or his brother, who were Milton's nephews, and lived very much with him, and one or both of them were assistant to him in his office. His blindness no doubt was a great hindrance and inconvenience to him in his business, tho' sometimes a political use might be made of it; as men's natural infirmities are often pleaded in excuse for not doing what they have no great inclination to do. Thus when Cromwell, as we may collect from Whitlock, for some reasons delayed
artfully

artfully to sign the treaty concluded with Sweden, and the Swedish ambassador made frequent complaints of it, it was excused to him, because Mr. Milton on account of his blindness proceeded slower in business, and had not yet put the articles of the treaty into Latin. Upon which the ambassador was greatly surpris'd, that things of such consequence should be intrusted to a blind man, for he must necessarily employ an amanuensis, and that amanuensis might divulge the articles; and said it was very wonderful, that there should be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he a blind one. But his blindness had not diminished, but rather increased the vigor of his mind: and his state-letters will remain as authentic memorials of those times, to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and those particularly about the sufferings of the poor protestants in Piedmont, who can read without sensible emotion? This was a subject that he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution; and among his sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the same occasion.

But Oliver Cromwell being dead, and the government weak and unsettled in the hands of Richard and the Parliament, he thought it a seasonable time to offer his advice again to the public; and in 1659 published a Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes; and another tract intitled Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church; both addressed to the Parliament of the commonwealth of England. And after the Parliament was dissolved, he wrote a Letter to some Statesman, with whom he had a serious discourse the night before, concerning the ruptures of the commonwealth; and another, as it is supposed, to General Monk, being a brief Delineation of a free commonwealth, easy to be put in practice and without delay. These two pieces were communicated in manuscript to Mr. Toland by a friend, who a little after Milton's death had them from his nephew; and Mr. Toland gave them to be printed in the edition of our author's prose-works in 1698. But Milton, still finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the subversion of the commonwealth and the restoration of the royal family, published his

his Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation. We are informed by Mr. Wood, that he published this piece in February 1659-60; and after this he published Brief notes upon a late sermon intitled, the Fear of God and the King, preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith at Mercers Chapel March 25. 1660: so bold and resolute was he in declaring his sentiments to the last, thinking that his voice was the voice of expiring liberty.

A little before the King's landing he was discharged from his office of Latin Secretary, and was forced to leave his house in Petty France, where he had lived eight years with great reputation, and had been visited by all foreigners of note, who could not go out of the country without seeing a man who did so much honor to it by his writings, and whose name was as well known and as famous abroad as in his own nation; and by several persons of quality of both sexes, particularly the pious and virtuous Lady Ranelagh, whose son for some time he instructed, the same who was Paymaster of the forces in King William's time; and by many learned and ingenious friends and acquaintance, particularly Andrew Marvel, and young Laurence, son to the President of Oliver's Council, to whom he has inscribed one of his sonnets, and Marchamont Needham the writer of *Politicus*, and above all Cyriac Skinner, whom he has honored with two sonnets. But now it was not safe for him to appear any longer in public, so that by the advice of some who wished him well and were concerned for his preservation, he fled for shelter to a friend's house in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worst of the storm was blown over. The first notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday the 16th of June 1660, when it was ordered by the House of Commons, that his Majesty should be humbly moved to issue his proclamation for the calling in of Milton's two books, his *Defense of the people and Iconoclastes*, and also Goodwyn's book intitled the *Obstructors of justice*, written in justification of the murder of the late King, and to order them to be burnt by the hands of the

common hangman. At the same time it was ordered, that the Attorney General should proceed by way of indictment or information against Milton and Goodwyn in respect of their books, and that they themselves should be sent for in custody of the Serjeant at arms attending the House. On Wednesday June 27th an order of Council was made agreeable to the order of the House of Commons for a proclamation against Milton's and Goodwyn's books; and the proclamation was issued the 13th of August following, wherein it was said that the authors had fled or did abscond: and on Monday August 27th Milton's and Goodwyn's books were burnt according to the proclamation at the Old Bailey by the hands of the common hangman. On Wednesday August 29th the act of indemnity was passed, which proved more favorable to Milton than could well have been expected; for tho' John Goodwyn Clerk was excepted among the twenty persons, who were to have penalties inflicted upon them, not extending to life, yet Milton was not excepted at all, and consequently was included in the general pardon. We find indeed that afterwards he was in custody of the Serjeant at arms; but the time, when he was taken into custody, is not certain. He was not in custody on the 12th of September, for that day a list of the prisoners in custody of the Serjeant at arms was read in the House, and Milton is not among them; and on the 13th of September the House adjourned to the 6th of November. It is most probable therefore, that after the act of indemnity was passed, and after the House had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into custody of the Serjeant at arms by virtue of the former order of the House of Commons: but we cannot find that he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in custody very long: for on Saturday the 15th of December 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. Milton now in custody of the Serjeant at arms should be forthwith released, paying his fees; and on Monday the 17th of December, a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for his imprisonment, it was referred to the Committee of privileges and elections to examin this business, and to call

call Mr. Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determin what was fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case; so courageous was he at all times in defense of liberty against all the encroachments of power, and tho' a prisoner, would yet be treated like a free-born Englishman. This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the Journals of the House of Commons, and partly from Kennet's Historical Register: and the clemency of the government was surely very great towards him, considering the nature of his offenses; for tho' he was not one of the King's judges and murderers, yet he contributed more to murder his character and reputation than any of them all: and to what therefore could it be owing, that he was treated with such lenity, and was so easily pardoned? It is certain, there was not wanting powerful intercession for him both in Council and in Parliament. It is said that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clargis greatly favored him, and exerted their interest in his behalf; and his old friend Andrew Marvel, member of Parliament for Hull, formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons; and neither was Charles the Second (as Toland says) such an enemy to the Muses, as to require his destruction. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton's having procured his release, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. It was life for life. Davenant had been saved by Milton's interest, and in return Milton was saved at Davenant's intercession. This story Mr. Richardson relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was first brought upon the stage and patronized by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this transaction from the fountain.

Milton having thus obtained his pardon, and being set at liberty again, took a house in Holborn near Red Lion Fields; but he removed soon into Jewen Street near Aldersgate Street: and while he lived there, being in his 53d or 54th year, and blind and infirm, and wanting some body better than servants to tend and look after him, he employed his friend Dr. Paget to choose a proper consort for him;

and at his recommendation married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, and related to Dr. Paget. It is said that an offer was made to Milton, as well as to Thurloe, of holding the same place of Secretary under the King, which he had discharged with so much integrity and ability under Cromwell; but he persisted in refusing it, tho' the wife pressed his compliance; "Thou art in the right, says he; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." What is more certain is, that in 1661 he published his *Accedence commenced Grammar*, and a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled *Aphorisms of State*; as in 1658 he had published another piece of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled the *Cabinet Council discabinated*, which he printed from a manuscript, that had lain many years in his hands, and was given him for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces: an evident sign, that he thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors. It was while he lived in Jewen Street, that Elwood the quaker (as we learn from the history of his life written by his own hand) was first introduced to read to him; for having wholly lost his sight, he kept always some body or other to perform that office, and usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindness, that he might at the same time improve him in his learning. Elwood was recommended to him by Dr. Paget, and went to his house every afternoon except Sunday, and read to him such books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper. And Milton told him, that if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners either abroad or at home, he must learn the foreign pronunciation; and he instructed him how to read accordingly. And having a curious ear, he understood by my tone, says Elwood, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and he would stop me, and examin me, and open the most difficult passages to me. But it was not long after his third marriage, that he left Jewen Street, and removed to a house in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields:

and

and this was his last stage in this world; he continued longer in this house than he had done in any other, and lived here to his dying day: only when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, he removed to a small house at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, which Elwood had taken for him and his family; and there he remained during that dreadful calamity; but after the sickness was over, and the city was cleansed and made safely habitable again, he returned to his house in London.

His great work of *Paradise Lost* had principally engaged his thoughts for some years past, and was now completed. It is probable, that his first design of writing an epic poem was owing to his conversations at Naples with the Marquis of Villa about Tasso and his famous poem of the delivery of Jerusalem; and in a copy of verses presented to that nobleman before he left Naples, he intimated his intention of fixing upon King Arthur for his hero. And in an eclogue, made soon after his return to England upon the death of his friend and school-fellow Deodati, he proposed the same design and the same subject, and declared his ambition of writing something in his native language, which might render his name illustrious in these islands, though he should be obscure and inglorious to the rest of the world. And in other parts of his works, after he had engaged in the controversies of the times, he still promised to produce some noble poem or other at a fitter season; but it doth not appear that he had then determined upon the subject, and King Arthur had another fate, being reserved for the pen of Sir Richard Blackmore. The first hint of *Paradise Lost* is said to have been taken from an Italian tragedy; and it is certain, that he first designed it a tragedy himself, and there are several plans of it in the form of a tragedy still to be seen in the author's own manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. And it is probable, that he did not barely sketch out the plans, but also wrote some parts of the drama itself. His nephew Philips informs us, that some of the verses at the beginning of Satan's speech, addressed to the sun in the fourth book, were shown to him and some others as designed for the beginning of the tragedy, several years before the poem
was

was begun: and many other passages might be produced, which plainly appear to have been originally intended for the scene, and are not so properly of the epic, as of the tragic strain. It was not till after he was disengaged from the Salmasian controversy, which ended in 1655, that he began to mold the *Paradise Lost* in its present form; but after the Restoration, when he was dismissed from public business, and freed from controversy of every kind, he prosecuted the work with closer application. Mr. Philips relates a very remarkable circumstance in the composition of this poem, which he says he had reason to remember, as it was told him by Milton himself, that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction, tho' he courted his fancy never so much. Mr. Toland imagines that Philips might be mistaken as to the time, because our author, in his Latin elegy, written in his twentieth year, upon the approach of the spring, seemeth to say just the contrary, as if he could not make any verses to his satisfaction till the spring begun: and he says farther that a judicious friend of Milton's informed him, that he could never compose well but in spring and autumn. But Mr. Richardson cannot comprehend, that either of these accounts is exactly true, or that a man with such a work in his head can suspend it for six months together, or only for one; it may go on more slowly, but it must go on: and this laying it aside is contrary to that eagerness to finish what was begun, which he says was his temper in his epistle to Deodati dated Sept. 2. 1637. After all Mr. Philips, who had the perusal of the poem from the beginning, by twenty or thirty verses at a time, as it was composed, and having not been shown any for a considerable while as the summer came on, inquired of the author the reason of it, could hardly be mistaken with regard to the time: and it is easy to conceive, that the poem might go on much more slowly in summer than in other parts of the year; for notwithstanding all that poets may say of the pleasures of that season, I imagin most persons find by experience, that they can compose better at any other time, with more facility and with more spirit, than during the heat and languor of summer. Whenever
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the poem was wrote, it was finished in 1665, and as Elwood says was shown to him that same year at St. Giles Chalfont, whither Milton had retired to avoid the plague, and it was lent to him to peruse it and give his judgment of it: and considering the difficulties which the author lay under, his uneasiness on account of the public affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his gout and blindness, his not being in circumstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful, that he should have the spirit to undertake such a work, and much more, that he should ever bring it to perfection. And after the poem was finished, still new difficulties retarded the publication of it. It was in danger of being suppressed thro' the malice or ignorance of the licencer, who took exception at some passages, and particularly at that noble simile, in the first book, of the sun in an eclipse, in which he fancied that he had discovered treason. It was with difficulty too that the author could sell the copy; and he sold it at last only for five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and five pounds more after the sale of as many of the second impression, and five more after the sale of as many of the third, and the number of each impression was not to exceed 1500. And what a poor consideration was this for such an inestimable performance! and how much more do others get by the works of great authors, than the authors themselves! This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer is dated April 27. 1667, and is in the hands of Mr. Tonson the bookseller, as is likewise the manuscript of the first book copied fair for the press, with the Imprimatur by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: so that tho' Milton was forced to make use of different hands to write his verses from time to time as he had occasion, yet we may suppose that the copy for the press was written all or at least each book by the same hand. The first edition in ten books was printed in a small quarto; and before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. The first sort was without the name of Simmons the printer, and
began

began with the poem immediately following the title page, without any argument, or preface, or table of errata: to others was prefixed a short advertisement of the printer to the reader concerning the argument and the reason why the poem rimes not; and then followed the argument of the several books, and the preface concerning the kind of verse, and the table of errata: others again had the argument, and the preface, and the table of errata, without that short advertisement of the printer to the reader: and this was all the difference between them, except now and then of a point or a letter, which were altered as the sheets were printing off. So that, notwithstanding these variations, there was still only one impression in quarto; and two years almost elapsed, before 1300 copies could be sold, or before the author was intitled to his second five pounds, for which his receipt is still in being, and is dated April 26. 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till the year 1674, and that same year he died. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the *Æneid*, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign'd to several persons, his family have enjoyed

enjoyed the right of copy ever since. By the last assignment it appears, that the book was growing into repute and rising in valuation; and to what perverseness could it be owing that it was not better received at first? We conceive there were principally two reasons; the prejudices against the author on account of his principles and party; and many no doubt were offended with the novelty of a poem that was not in rime. Rymer, who was a redoubted critic in those days, would not so much as allow it to be a poem on this account; and declared war against Milton as well as against Shakespear; and threatened that he would write reflections upon the *Paradise Lost*, which some (says he*) are pleased to call a poem, and would assert rime against the slender sophistry wherewith the author attacks it. And such a man as Bishop Burnet maketh it a sort of objection to Milton, that he affected to write in blank verse without rime. And the same reason induced Dryden to turn the principal parts of *Paradise Lost* into rime in his Opera called the State of innocence and Fall of man; to tag his lines, as Milton himself expressed it, alluding to the fashion then of wearing tags of metal at the end of their ribbons. We are told indeed by Mr. Richardson, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost* wet from the press in his hand; and being asked what he had there, said that he had part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age. However it is certain that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorset produced it, as Mr. Richardson was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinson the physician, who had heard the story often from Fleetwood Shephard himself, that the Earl, in company with Mr. Shephard, looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with *Paradise Lost*; and being surprised at some passages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookseller begged his Lordship to speak in its favor if he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The Earl having read it sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer, " This
 VOL. I. g " man

* See Rymer's *Tragedies of the last age consider'd*. p. 143.

“man cuts us all out and the Ancients too.” Dryden’s epigram upon Milton is too well known to be repeated; and those Latin verses by Dr. Barrow the physician, and the English ones by Andrew Marvel Esq; usually prefixed to the *Paradise Lost*, were written before the second edition, and were published with it. But still the poem was not generally known and esteemed, nor met with the deserved applause, till after the edition in folio, which was published in 1688 by subscription. The Duke of Buckingham in his Essay on poetry prefers Tasso and Spenser to Milton: and it is related in the life of the witty Earl of Rochester, that he had no notion of a better poet than Cowley. In 1686 or thereabout Sir William Temple published the second part of his *Miscellanies*, and it may surprise any reader, that in his Essay on poetry he taketh no notice at all of Milton; nay he saith expressly that after Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, he knoweth none of the Moderns who have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. And what can we think, that he had not read or heard of the *Paradise Lost*, or that the author’s politics had prejudiced him against his poetry? It was happy that all great men were not of his mind. The bookseller was advised and encouraged to undertake the folio edition by Mr. Sommers, afterwards Lord Sommers, who not only subscribed himself, but was zealous in promoting the subscription: and in the list of subscribers we find some of the most eminent names of that time, as the Earl of Dorset, Waller, Dryden, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Atterbury, and among the rest Sir Roger Lestrage, tho’ he had formerly written a piece intitled *No blind guides &c* against Milton’s Notes upon Dr. Griffith’s sermon. There were two editions more in folio, one I think in 1692, the other in 1695 which was the sixth edition; for the poem was now so well received, that notwithstanding the price of it was four times greater than before, the sale increased double the number every year; as the bookseller, who should best know, has informed us in his dedication of the smaller editions to Lord Sommers. Since that time not only various editions have been printed, but also various notes and translations. The first person who wrote annotations upon *Paradise Lost* was P. H. or Patrick Hume, of whom

whom we know nothing, unless his name may lead us to some knowledge of his country, but he has the merit of being the first (as I say) who wrote notes upon *Paradise Lost*, and his notes were printed at the end of the folio edition in 1695. Mr. Addison's *Spectators* upon the subject contributed not a little to establishing the character, and illustrating the beauties of the poem. In 1732 appeared Dr. Bentley's new edition with notes: and the year following Dr. Pearce published his *Review of the text*, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered, and several other emendations and observations are offered to the public. And the year after that Messieurs Richardson, father and son, published their *Explanatory notes and remarks*. The poem has also been translated into several languages, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch; and proposals have been made for translating it into Greek. The Dutch translation is in blank verse, and printed at Harlem. The French have a translation by Mons. Dupré de S. Maur; but nothing sheweth the weakness and imperfection of their language more, than that they have few or no good poetical versions of the greatest poets; they are forced to translate Homer, Virgil, and Milton into prose: and blank verse their language has not harmony and dignity enough to support; their tragedies, and many of their comedies are in rime. Rolli, the famous Italian master here in England, made an Italian translation; and Mr. Richardson the son saw another at Florence in manuscript by the learned Abbè Salvini, the same who translated Addison's *Cato* into Italian. One William Hog or Hogæus translated *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regain'd*, and *Samson Agonistes* into Latin verse in 1690; but this version is very unworthy of the originals. There is a better translation of the *Paradise Lost* by Mr. Thomas Power Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, the first book of which was printed in 1691, and the rest in manuscript is in the library of that College. The learned Dr. Trap has also published a translation into Latin verse; and the world is in expectation of another, that will surpass all the rest, by Mr. William Dobson of New College in Oxford. So that by one means or other Milton is now considered as an English classic; and the *Paradise Lost* is generally esteemed the noblest and

most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the ancient; the honor of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!

In 1670 he published his History of Britain, that part especially now called England. He began it above twenty years before, but was frequently interrupted by other avocations; and he designed to have brought it down to his own times, but stopped at the Norman conquest; for indeed he was not well able to pursue it any farther by reason of his blindness, and he was engaged in other more delightful studies, having a genius turned for poetry rather than history. When his History was printed, it was not printed perfect and entire; for the licenser expunged several passages, which reflecting upon the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the Bishops in Charles the second's reign. But the author himself gave a copy of his unlicensed papers to the Earl of Anglesea, who, as well as several of the nobility and gentry, constantly visited him: and in 1681 a considerable passage, which had been suppressed at the beginning of the third book, was published, containing a character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641, which was inserted in its proper place in the last edition of 1738. Bishop Kennet begins his Complete History of England with this work of Milton, as being the best draught, the clearest and most authentic account of those early times: and his style is freer and easier than in most of his other works, more plain and simple, less figurative and metaphorical, and better suited to the nature of history, has enough of the Latin turn and idiom to give it an air of antiquity, and sometimes rises to a surprising dignity and majesty.

In 1670 likewise his *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes* were licensed together, but were not published till the year following. It is somewhat remarkable, that these two poems were not printed by Simmons, the same who printed the *Paradise Lost*, but by J. M. for one Starkey in Fleetstreet: and what could induce Milton to have recourse to another printer? was it because the former was not enough encouraged by the sale of *Paradise Lost* to become a purchaser of the
other

other copies? The first thought of *Paradise Regain'd* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion in the history of his life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* at St. Giles Chalfont, as we said before, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it: "Which I modestly, but freely told him, says Elwood; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton showed him his *Paradise Regain'd*, and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to You, for You put it into my head by the question You put me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." It is commonly reported, that Milton himself preferred this poem to the *Paradise Lost*: but all that we can assert upon good authority is, that he could not indure to hear this poem cried down so much as it was, in comparison with the other. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regain'd* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour, the artful sophistry and specious insinuations of the one refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other. This poem has also been translated into French together with some other pieces of Milton, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and the Ode on Christ's nativity: and in 1732 was printed a Critical Dissertation with notes upon *Paradise Regain'd*, pointing out the beauties of it, and
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written by Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester: and the very learned and ingenious Mr. Jortin has added some observations upon this work at the end of his excellent Remarks upon Spenser, published in 1734: and indeed this poem of Milton, to be more admired, needs only to be better known. His Samson Agonistes is the only tragedy that he has finished, tho' he has sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College library: and we may suppose that he was determined to the choice of this particular subject by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistines. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Mr. Handel's music is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the God of music and of verse was still one and the same.

There are also some other pieces of Milton, for he continued publishing to the last. In 1672 he published *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*, an Institution of Logic after the method of Petrus Ramus; and the year following, a treatise of true Religion and the best means to prevent the growth of popery, which had greatly increased thro' the connivance of the King, and the more open encouragement of the Duke of York; and the same year his poems, which had been printed in 1645, were reprinted with the addition of several others. His familiar epistles and some academical exercises, *Epistolarum familiarium Lib. I. et Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ*

Oratoriæ in Collegio Christi habitæ, were printed in 1674; as was also his translation out of Latin into English of the Pole's Declaration concerning the election of their king John III, setting forth the virtues and merits of that prince. He wrote also a brief History of Muscovy, collected from the relations of several travelers; but it was not printed till after his death in 1682. He had likewise his state-letters transcribed at the request of the Danish resident, but neither were they printed till after his death in 1676, and were translated into English in 1694; and to that translation a life of Milton was prefixed by his nephew Mr. Edward Philips, and at the end of that life his excellent sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and Cyriac Skinner on his blindness were first printed. Besides these works which were published, he wrote a system of divinity, which Mr. Toland says was in the hands of his friend Cyriac Skinner, but where at present is uncertain. And Mr. Philips says, that he had prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether by the dissuasion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause Mr. Philips knoweth not, this answer was never published. And indeed the best vindicator of him and his writings hath been Time. Posterity hath universally paid that honor to his merits, which was denied him by great part of his contemporaries.

After a life thus spent in study and labors for the public he died of the gout at his house in Bunhill Row on or about the 10th of November 1674, when he had within a month completed the sixty sixth year of his age. It is not known when he was first attacked by the gout, but he was grievously afflicted with it several of the last years of his life, and was weakened to such a degree, that he died without a groan, and those in the room perceived not when he expired. His body was decently interred near that of his father (who had died very aged about the year 1647) in the chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate; and all his great and learned friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the common people, paid their last respects in attending it to the grave. Mr. Fenton in his short but elegant

elegant account of the life of Milton, speaking of our author's having no monument, says that " he desired a friend to inquire at St. Giles's Church; where the sexton showed him a small monument, which he said was supposed to be Milton's; but the inscription had never been legible since he was employed in that office, which he has possessed about forty years. This sure could never have happened in so short a space of time, unless the epitaph had been industriously erased: and that supposition, says Mr. Fenton, carries with it so much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not erected to his memory." It is evident that it was not erected to his memory, and that the sexton was mistaken. For Mr. Toland in his account of the life of Milton says, that he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's Church, " where the piety of his admirers will shortly erect a monument becoming his worth and the encouragement of letters in King William's reign." This plainly implies that no monument was erected to him at that time, and this was written in 1698: and Mr. Fenton's account was first published, I think, in 1725; so that not above twenty seven years intervened from the one account to the other; and consequently the sexton, who it is said had been possessed of his office about forty years, must have been mistaken, and the monument must have been designed for some other person, and not for Milton. A monument indeed has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey by Auditor Benson in the year 1737; but the best monument of him is his writings.

In his youth he was esteemed extremely handsome, so that while he was a student at Cambridge, he was called the Lady of Christ's College. He had a very fine skin and fresh complexion; his hair was of a light brown, and parted on the foretop hung down in curls waving upon his shoulders; his features were exact and regular; his voice agreeable and musical; his habit clean and neat; his deportment erect and manly. He was middle-sized and well proportioned, neither tall nor short, neither too lean nor too corpulent, strong and active in his younger years, and though afflicted with frequent headaches, blindness, and gout, was yet a comely and well-looking man to

to the last. His eyes were of a light blue color, and from the first are said to have been none of the brightest; but after he lost the sight of them, (which happened about the 43d year of his age) they still appeared without spot or blemish, and at first view and at a little distance it was not easy to know that he was blind. Mr. Richardson had an account of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, who found him in a small house, which had (he thinks) but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rusty green, he saw John Milton sitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones; among other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain of the gout, his blindness would be tolerable. But there is the less need to be particular in the description of his person, as the idea of his face and countenance is pretty well known from the numerous prints, pictures, busts, medals, and other representations which have been made of him. There are two pictures of greater value than the rest, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the possession of Milton's widow: the first was drawn when he was about twenty one, and is at present in the collection of the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons; the other in crayons was drawn when he was about sixty two, and was in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by Mr. Tonson. Several prints have been made from both these pictures; and there is a print done, when he was about sixty two or sixty three, after the life by Faithorn, which tho' not so handsome, may yet perhaps be as true a resemblance, as any of them. It is prefixed to some of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his prose works in three volumes printed in 1698.

In his way of living he was an example of sobriety and temperance. He was very sparing in the use of wine or strong liquors of any kind. Let meaner poets make use of such expedients to raise their fancy and kindle their imagination. He wanted not any artificial spirits; he had a natural fire, and poetic warmth enough of his own. He was

VOL. I. h likewise

likewise very abstemious in his diet, not fastidiously nice or delicate in the choice of his dishes, but content with any thing that was most in season, or easiest to be procured, eating and drinking, (according to the distinction of the philosopher) that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink. So that probably his gout descended by inheritance from one or other of his parents; or if it was of his own acquiring, it must have been owing to his studious and sedentary life. And yet he delighted sometimes in walking and using exercise, but we hear nothing of his riding or hunting; and having early learned to fence, he was such a master of his sword, that he was not afraid of resenting an affront from any man; and before he lost his sight, his principal recreation was the exercise of his arms; but after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In his youth he was accustomed to sit up late at his studies, and seldom went to bed before midnight; but afterwards, finding it to be the ruin of his eyes, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time, he used to go to rest early, seldom later than nine, and would be stirring in the summer at four, and in the winter at five in the morning; but if he was not disposed to rise at his usual hours, he still did not lie sleeping, but had some body or other by his bed side to read to him. At his first rising he had usually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible, and he commonly studied all the morning till twelve, then used some exercise for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who (he said) had a good voice but no ear; and then he went up to study again till six, when his friends came to visit him and sat with him perhaps till eight; then he went down to supper, which was usually olives or some light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe, and drank a glass of water, and went to bed. He loved the country, and commends it, as poets usually do; but after his return from his travels, he was very little there, except during the time of the plague in London. The civil war might at first detain him in town; and the pleasures of the country were in a great measure lost to him, as they depend

depend mostly upon sight, whereas a blind man wanteth company and conversation, which is to be had better in populous cities. But he was led out sometimes for the benefit of the fresh air, and in warm sunny weather he used to sit at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the house received the visits of persons of quality and distinction; for he was no less visited to the last both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his flourishing condition before the Restoration.

Some objections indeed have been made to his temper; and I remember there was a tradition in the university of Cambridge, that he and Mr. King (whose death he laments in his *Lycidas*) were competitors for a fellowship, and when they were both equal in point of learning, Mr. King was preferred by the college for his character of good nature, which was wanting in the other; and this was by Milton grievously resented. But the difference of their ages, Milton being at least four years elder, renders this story not very probable; and besides Mr. King was not elected by the college, but was made fellow by a royal mandate, so that there can be no truth in the tradition; but if there was any, it is no sign of Milton's resentment, but a proof of his generosity, that he could live in such friendship with a successful rival, and afterwards so passionately lament his decease. His method of writing controversy is urged as another argument of his want of temper: but some allowance must be made for the customs and manners of the time. Controversy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in those days, than it is in these. And it is to be considered too, that his adversaries first began the attack; they loaded him with much more personal abuse, only they had not the advantage of so much wit to season it. If he had engaged with more candid and ingenuous disputants, he would have preferred civility and fair argument to wit and satire: "to do so was my choice," and to have done thus was my chance," as he expresses himself in the conclusion of one of his controversial pieces. All who have written any accounts of his life agree, that he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an equal and chearful temper; and yet

I can easily believe, that he had a sufficient sense of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries.

His merits indeed were singular; for he was a man not only of wonderful genius, but of immense learning and erudition; not only an incomparable poet, but a great mathematician, logician, historian, and divine. He was a master not only of the Greek and Latin, but likewise of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, as well as of the modern languages, Italian, French, and Spanish. He was particularly skilled in the Italian, which he always preferred to the French language, as all the men of letters did at that time in England; and he not only wrote elegantly in it, but is highly commended for his writings by the most learned of the Italians themselves, and especially by the members of that celebrated academy called della Crusca, which was established at Florence for the refining and perfecting of the Tuscan language. He had read almost all authors, and improved by all, even by romances, of which he had been fond in his younger years; and as the bee can extract honey out of weeds, so (to use his own words in his Apology for Smectymnuus) “those books, which to many
“others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, proved to
“him so many incitements to the love and observation of virtue.” His favorite author after the Holy Scriptures was Homer. Homer he could repeat almost all without book; and he was advised to undertake a translation of his works, which no doubt he would have executed to admiration. But (as he says of himself in his postscript to the Judgment of Martin Bucer) “he never could delight in long citations, much less in whole translations.” And accordingly there are few things, and those of no great length, which he has ever translated. He was possessed too much of an original genius to be a mere copyer. “Whether it be natural disposition, says he, or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God
“made my own, and not a translator.” And it is somewhat remarkable, that there is scarce any author, who has written so much, and upon such various subjects, and yet quotes so little from his contemporary authors, or so seldom mentions any of them. He praises
Selden

Selden indeed in more places than one, but for the rest he appears disposed to censure rather than commend. After his severer studies, and after dinner as we observed before, he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or bass-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had lost his sight; for he was a master of music as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us. It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that somewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himself: but he was blessed with so many real excellences, that there is no want of fictitious ones to raise and adorn his character. He had a quick apprehension, a sublime imagination, a strong memory, a piercing judgment, a wit always ready, and facetious or grave as the occasion required: and I know not whether the loss of his sight did not add vigor to the faculties of his mind. He at least thought so, and often comforted himself with that reflection.

But his great parts and learning have scarcely gained him more admirers, than his political principles have raised him enemies. And yet the darling passion of his soul was the love of liberty; this was his constant aim and end, however he might be mistaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cause, and with his spirit and his resolution it is somewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his person in the civil war; but tho' he was not in arms, he was not unactive, and thought, I suppose, that he could be of more service to the cause by his pen than by his sword. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings. And one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his constant visitors to the last, inquired of him how he came to side with the republicans. Milton answered among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government, for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth. But then his attachment to Cromwell must be
con-

condemned, as being neither consistent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty. And I know no other way of accounting for his conduct, but by presuming (as I think we may reasonably presume) that he was far from entirely approving of Cromwell's proceedings, but considered him as the only person who could rescue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who he saw were erecting a worse dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatical episcopacy; and of all things he dreaded spiritual slavery, and therefore closed with Cromwell and the Independents, as he expected under them greater liberty of conscience. And tho' he served Cromwell, yet it must be said for him, that he served a great master, and served him ably, and was not wanting from time to time in giving him excellent good advice, especially in his second Defense: and so little being said of him in all Secretary Thurloe's state-papers, it appears that he had no great share in the secrets and intrigues of government; what he dispatched was little more than matters of necessary form, letters and answers to foreign states; and he may be justified for acting in such a station, upon the same principle as Sir Matthew Hale for holding a Judge's commission under the usurper: and in the latter part of his life he frequently expressed to his friends his entire satisfaction of mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defense of liberty, and in opposition to slavery.

In matters of religion too he has given as great offense, or even greater than by his political principles. But still let not the infidel glory: no such man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expressed the profoundest reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Christian and a Protestant, and studied and admired the Holy Scriptures above all other books whatsoever; and in all his writings he plainly sheweth a religious turn of mind, as well in verse as in prose, as well in his works of an earlier date as in those of later composition. When he wrote the *Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*, he appears to have been a Calvinist; but afterwards he entertained a more favorable opinion of Arminius. Some have inclined to believe, that he was an Arian; but there

there are more exprefs passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it. For in the conclufion of his treatife of Reformation he thus solemnly invokes the Trinity; “Thou
“therefore that fitteft in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of
“Angels and Men! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer
“of that loft remnant whose nature thou didft affume, ineffable and
“everlafting Love! And thou the third fubfiftence of divine infin-
“tude, illumining Spirit, the joy and folace of created things! one
“Tri-perfonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor, and almoft spent
“and expiring Church &c.” And in his tract of Prelatical Epifcopacy he endeavors to prove the fpuriousnefs of fome epiftles attributed to Ignatius, becaufe they contained in them herefies, one of which herefies is, that “he condemns them for minifters of Satan, who fay that
“Chrift is God above all.” And a little after in the fame tract he objects to the authority of Tertullian, becaufe he went about to “prove
“an imparity between God the Father, and God the Son.” And in *Paradife Loft* we fhall find nothing upon this head, that is not perfectly agreeable to Scripture. The learned Dr. Trap, who was as likely to cry out upon herefy as any man, afferts that the poem is orthodox in every part of it; or otherwife he would not have been at the pains of tranflating it. *Neque alienum videtur a ftudiis viri theologi poema magna ex parte theologicum; omni ex parte (rideant, per me licet, atque ringantur athei et infideles) orthodoxum.* Milton was indeed a diffenter from the Church of England, in which he had been educated, and was by his parents defigned for holy orders, as we related before; but he was led away by early prejudices againft the doctrin and difciplin of the Church; and in his younger years was a favorer of the Presbyterians; in his middle age he was beft pleafed with the Independents and Anabaptifts, as allowing greater liberty of confcience than others, and coming neareft in his opinion to the primitive practice; and in the latter part of his life he was not a profefled member of any particular fect of Chriftians, he frequented no public worship, nor ufed any religious rite in his family. Whether fo many different forms of worship as he had feen, had made him indifferent to all forms; or
whether

whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their endless and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution, which he said was a piece of Popery inseparable from all Churches; or whether he believed, that a man might be a good Christian without joining in any communion; or whether he did not look upon himself as inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies, it is not easy to determin: *to his own master he standeth or falleth*: but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of a Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion tho' he so little regarded the exterior; and it is certain was to the last an enthusiast rather than an infidel. As enthusiasm made Norris a poet, so poetry might make Milton an enthusiast.

His circumstances were never very mean, nor very great; for he lived above want, and was not intent upon accumulating wealth; his ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind. His father supported him in his travels, and for some time after. Then his pupils must have been of some advantage to him, and brought him either a certain stipend or considerable presents at least; and he had scarcely any other method of improving his fortune, as he was of no profession. When his father died, he inherited an elder son's share of his estate, the principal part of which I believe was his house in Bread Street: And not long after, he was appointed Latin Secretary with a Salary of 200*l.* a year; so that he was now in opulent circumstances for a man, who had always led a frugal and temperate life, and was at little unnecessary expense besides buying of books. Tho' he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing in the spoils of his country. On the contrary (as we learn from his second Defense) he sustained great losses during the civil war, and was not at all favored in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion. And upon a turn of affairs he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost 2000*l.* which he had for security and improvement put into the Excise Office. He lost likewise another considerable sum for want of proper care and management, as persons of Milton's genius are seldom
expert

expert in money matters. And in the fire of London his house in Bread Street was burnt, before which accident foreigners have gone out of devotion (says Wood) to see the house and chamber where he was born. His gains were inconsiderable in proportion to his losses; for excepting the thousand pounds, which were given him by the government for writing his Defense of the people against Salmasius, we may conclude that he got very little by the copies of his works, when it doth not appear that he received any more than ten pounds for Paradise Lost. Some time before he died he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought that he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his decease. And finally by one means or other he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds besides his household goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.

To this account of Milton it may be proper to add something concerning his family. We said before, that he had a younger brother and a sister. His brother Christopher Milton was a man of totally opposite principles; was a strong royalist, and after the civil war made his composition thro' his brother's interest; had been entered young a student in the Inner Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient bencher; and being a professed papist, was in the reign of James II. made a judge and knighted; but soon obtained his quietus by reason of his age and infirmities, and retired to Ipswich, where he lived all the latter part of his life. His sister Anne Milton had a considerable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr. Edward Philips (son of Mr. Edward Philips of Shrewsbury) who coming young to London was bred up in the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became secondary of the office under Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides other children who died infants, two sons Edward and John, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention before. Among our author's juvenile poems there is a copy of verses on the death of a fair infant, a nephew, or rather niece of his, dying of a cough; and this

being written in his 17th year, as it is said in the title, it may naturally be inferred that Mrs. Philips was elder than either of her brothers. She had likewise two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Anne who was living in 1694, by a second husband Mr. Thomas Agar, who succeeded his intimate friend Mr. Philips in his place in the Crown Office, which he enjoyed many years, and left to Mr. Thomas Milton, son of Sir Christopher before mentioned. As for Milton himself he appears to have been no enemy to the fair sex by having had three wives. What fortune he had with any of them is no where said, but they were gentlemen's daughters; and it is remarkable that he married them all maidens, for (as he says in his Apology for Smeectymnuus, which was written before he married at all) he "thought with them, "who both in prudence and elegance of spirit would choose a virgin "of mean fortunes honestly bred before the wealthiest widow." But yet he seemeth not to have been very happy in any of his marriages; for his first wife had justly offended him by her long absence and separation from him; the second, whose love, sweetness, and goodness he commends, lived not a twelvemonth with him; and his third wife is said to have been a woman of a most violent spirit, and a hard mother in law to his children. She died very old, about twenty years ago, at Nantwich in Cheshire: and from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned, that she confirmed several things which have been related before; and particularly that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses: and being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness that he stole from no body but the Muse who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly. She was likewise asked whom he approved most of our English poets, and answered Spenser, Shakespear, and Cowley: and being asked what he thought of Dryden, she said Dryden used some-
times

times to visit him, but he thought him no poet, but a good rimist: but this was before Dryden had composed his best poems, which made his name so famous afterwards. She was wont moreover to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience. By his first wife he had four children, a son who died an infant, and three daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had only one daughter, who died soon after her mother, who died in childbed; and by his last wife he had no children at all. His daughters were not sent to school, but were instructed by a mistress kept at home for that purpose: and he himself, excusing the eldest on account of an impediment in her speech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin and several other languages, without understanding any but English, for he used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman: but this employment was very irksome to them, and this together with the sharpness and severity of their mother in law made them very uneasy at home; and therefore they were all sent abroad to learn things more proper for them, and particularly imbroidery in gold and silver. As Milton at his death left his affairs very much in the power of his widow, tho' she acknowledged that he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds, yet she allowed but one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters: Anne the eldest was decrepit and deformed, but had a very handsome face; she married a master-builder, and died in childbed of her first child, who died with her. Mary the second lived and died single. Deborah the youngest in her father's life time went over to Ireland with a lady, and afterwards was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spittle Fields, and died in August 1727 in the 76th year of her age. She is said to have been a woman of good understanding and genteel behaviour, though in low circumstances. As she had been often called upon to read Homer and Ovid's Metamorphosis to her father, she could have repeated a considerable number of verses from the

beginning of both those poets, as Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, relates upon his own knowledge: and another Gentleman has informed me, that he has heard her repeat several verses likewise out of Euripides. Mr. Addison, and the other gentlemen, who had opportunities of seeing her, knew her immediately to be Milton's daughter by the similitude of her countenance to her father's picture: and Mr. Addison made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas with a promise of procuring for her some annual provision for her life; but his death happening soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She received presents likewise from several other gentlemen, and Queen Caroline sent her fifty pounds by the hands of Dr. Freind the physician. She had ten children, seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons named Caleb, and one of her daughters named Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, where he married, and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac; the elder of whom came to England with the late governor Harrison, but returned upon advice of his father's death, and whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle Fields, and had seven children who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty, and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather lost two thousand pounds by a money-scrivener, whom he had intrusted with that sum, and likewise an estate at Westminster of sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was restored to them at the Restoration: that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved to have of the best: that he seldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was visited even then by persons of distinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great distance, and would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman: that

that her mother was his greatest favorite, and could read in seven or eight languages, tho' she understood none but English: that her mother inherited his head-akes and disorders, and had such a weakness in her eyes, that she was forced to make use of spectacles from the age of eighteen; and she herself, she says, has not been able to read a chapter in the Bible these twenty years: that she was mistaken in informing Mr. Birch, what he had printed upon her authority, that Milton's father was born in France; and a brother of hers who was then living was very angry with her for it, and like a true-born Englishman resented it highly, that the family should be thought to bear any relation to France: that Milton's second wife did not die in childbed, as Mr. Philips and Toland relate, but above three months after of a consumption; and this too Mr. Birch relates upon her authority; but in this particular she must be mistaken as well as in the other, for our author's sonnet on his deceased wife plainly implies, that she did die in childbed. She knows nothing of her aunt Philips or Agar's descendants, but believes that they are all extinct: as is likewise Sir Christopher Milton's family, the last of which were two maiden sisters, Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catharine Milton, who lived and died at Highgate: and she herself is the only survivor of Milton's own family, unless there be some in the East Indies, which she very much questions, for she used to hear from them sometimes, but has heard nothing now for several years; so that in all probability Milton's whole family will be extinct with her, and he can live only in his writings. And such is the caprice of fortune, this granddaughter of a man, who will be an everlasting glory to the nation, has now for some years with her husband kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop for their subsistence, lately at the lower Holloway in the road between Highgate and London, and at present in Cock Lane not far from Shoreditch Church. Another thing let me mention, that is equally to the honor of the present age. Tho' Milton received not above ten pounds at two different payments for the copy of *Paradise Lost*, yet Mr. Hoyle author of the treatise on the Game of Whist, after having disposed of all the first impression,

impression, sold the copy to the bookseller, as I have been informed, for two hundred guineas.

As we have had occasion to mention more than once Milton's manuscripts preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if we give a more particular account of them, before we conclude. There are, as we said, two draughts of a letter to a friend who had importuned him to take orders, together with a sonnet on his being arrived to the age of twenty three: and by there being two draughts of this letter with several alterations and additions, it appears to have been written with great care and deliberation; and both the draughts have been published by Mr. Birch in his Historical and Critical Account of the life and writings of Milton. There are also several of his poems, Arcades, At a solemn music, On time, Upon the circumcision, the Mask, Lycidas, with five or six of his sonnets, all in his own hand-writing: and there are some others of his sonnets written by different hands, being most of them composed after he had lost his sight. It is curious to see the first thoughts and subsequent corrections of so great a poet as Milton: but it is remarkable in these manuscript poems, that he doth not often make his stops, or begin his lines with great letters. There are likewise in his own hand-writing different plans of Paradise Lost in the form of a tragedy: and it is an agreeable amusement to trace the gradual progress and improvement of such a work from its first dawnings in the plan of a tragedy to its full lustre in an epic poem. And together with the plans of Paradise Lost there are the plans or subjects of several other intended tragedies, some taken from the Scripture, others from the British or Scottish histories: and of the latter the last mentioned is Macbeth, as if he had an inclination to try his strength with Shakespear; and to reduce the play more to the unities, he proposes "beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Macduff; the matter of Duncan may be expressed by the appearing of his ghost." These manuscripts of Milton were found by the learned Mr. Professor Mason

Mason among some other old papers, which, he says, belonged to Sir Henry Newton Puckering, who was a considerable benefactor to the library: and for the better preservation of such truly valuable reliques, they were collected together, and handsomely bound in a thin folio by the care and at the charge of a person, who is now very eminent in his profession, and was always a lover of the Muses, and at that time a fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Clarke, one of his Majesty's counsel.

PARADISUM AMISSAM

SUMMI POETÆ

JOHANNIS MILTONI.

QUI legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?

Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,

Et fata, & fines continet iste liber.

Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,

Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet:

Terræque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,

Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque specus:

Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & Tartara cæca,

Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli:

Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,

Et sine fine Chaos, & sine fine Deus:

Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,

In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.

Hæc qui speraret quis crederet esse futura?

Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britannia legit.

O quantos in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!

Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!

Cœlestes acies! atque in certamine cælum!

Et quæ cœlestes pugna deceret agros!

Quantus in æthereis tollit se Lucifer armis!

Atque ipso graditur vix Michael minor!

Quantis,

Quantis, & quàm funestis concurritur iris,
Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit!
Dum vulfos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,
Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt:
Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugnae non superesse suae.
At simul in cœlis Messiae insignia fulgent,
Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sæva rotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
Admistis flammis insonuere polo:
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt;
Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asylum,
Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.
Hæc quicunque leget tantùm cecinisse putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

SAMUEL BARROW, M. D.

ON PARADISE LOST.

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold,
Messiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument
Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song,
(So Sampson grop'd the temple's posts in spite)
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his fight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his project, the success did fear;
Through that wide field how he his way should find,
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;
Lest he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.

Or if a work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon me, mighty Poet, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy labors to pretend a share.
Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit:
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

That

That majesty which through thy work doth reign,
Draws the devout, deterring the profane.
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us seize,
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;
And above human flight dost soar aloft
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
The bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.

Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
Just Heav'n thee like Tiresias to requite
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;
While the Town-Bays writes all the while and spells,
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:
Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the mode offend,
And while I meant to Praise thee must Commend.
Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

ANDREW MARVEL.

T H E V E R S E.

TH E measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame meter; grac'd indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have express'd them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned Ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming.

CRITIQUE upon the PARADISE LOST.

By Mr. ADDISON.

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii.

Propert.

THERE is nothing in nature more irksome than general discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon words. For this reason I shall wave the discussion of that point which was started some years since, Whether Milton's *Paradise Lost* may be called an Heroic Poem? Those who will not give it that title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its perfection, if it has in it all the beauties of the highest kind of poetry; and as for those who alledge it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it, than if they should say Adam is not *Æneas*, nor Eve Helen.

I shall therefore examin it by the rules of epic poetry, and see whether it falls short of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing. The first thing to be consider'd in an epic poem, is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the action which it relates is more or less so. This action should have three qualifications in it. First, It should be but One action. Secondly, It should be an Entire action; and Thirdly, It should be a Great action. To consider the action of the *Iliad*, *Æneid*, and *Paradise Lost*, in these three several lights. Homer to preserve the unity of his action hastens into the midst of things, as Horace has observed: Had he gone up to Leda's egg, or begun much later, even at the rape of Helen, or the investing of Troy, it is manifest that the story of the poem would have

been a series of several actions. He therefore opens his poem with the discord of his princes, and artfully interweaves, in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing material which relates to them, and had passed before this fatal dissension. After the same manner, *Æneas* makes his first appearance in the Tyrrhene seas, and within sight of Italy, because the action proposed to be celebrated was that of his settling himself in Latium. But because it was necessary for the reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of episode in the second and third books of the *Æneid*: the contents of both which books come before those of the first book in the thread of the story, tho' for preserving of this unity of action, they follow it in the disposition of the poem. Milton, in imitation of these two great poets, opens his *Paradise Lost* with an infernal council plotting the fall of Man, which is the action he proposed to celebrate; and as for those great actions, the battle of the Angels, and the creation of the world, (which preceded in point of time, and which, in my opinion, would have entirely destroyed the unity of his principal action, had he related them in the same order that they happened) he cast them into the fifth, sixth and seventh books, by way of episode to this noble poem.

Aristotle himself allows, that Homer has nothing to boast of as to the unity of his fable, tho'

tho' at the same time that great critic and philosopher endeavors to palliate this imperfection in the Greek poet by imputing it in some measure to the very nature of an epic poem. Some have been of opinion, that the *Æneid* also labors in this particular, and has episodes which may be looked upon as excrescencies rather than as parts of the action. On the contrary, the poem, which we have now under our consideration, hath no other episodes than such as naturally arise from the subject, and yet is filled with such a multitude of astonishing incidents, that it gives us at the same time a pleasure of the greatest variety, and of the greatest simplicity; uniform in its nature, tho' diversified in the execution.

I must observe also, that, as Virgil in the poem which was designed to celebrate the original of the Roman empire, has described the birth of its great rival, the Carthaginian common-wealth: Milton, with the like art in his poem on the fall of Man, has related the fall of those Angels who are his professed enemies. Beside the many other beauties in such an episode, its running parallel with the great action of the poem, hinders it from breaking the unity so much as another episode would have done, that had not so great an affinity with the principal subject. In short, this is the same kind of beauty which the critics admire in the Spanish Fryar, or the Double Discovery, where the two different plots look like counterparts and copies of one another.

The second qualification required in the action of an epic poem is, that it should be an entire action: An action is entire when it is complete in all its parts; or as Aristotle describes it, when it consists of a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing should go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no single step should be omitted in that just and regular progress which it must be supposed to take from its original to its consum-

mation. Thus we see the anger of Achilles in its birth, its continuance, and effects; and *Æneas's* settlement in Italy, carried on through all the oppositions in his way to it both by sea and land. The action in Milton excels (I think) both the former in this particular; we see it contrived in Hell, executed upon Earth, and punished by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the most distinct manner, and grow out of one another in the most natural order.

The third qualification of an epic poem is its greatness. The anger of Achilles was of such consequence, that it embroiled the kings of Greece, destroyed the heroes of Asia, and engaged all the Gods in factions. *Æneas's* settlement in Italy produced the Cæsars, and gave birth to the Roman empire. Milton's subject was still greater than either of the former; it does not determine the fate of single persons or nations, but of a whole species. The united Powers of Hell are joined together for the destruction of mankind, which they effected in part, and would have completed, had not Omnipotence itself interposed. The principal actors are Man in his greatest perfection, and Woman in her highest beauty. Their enemies are the fallen Angels: The Messiah their friend, and the Almighty their protector. In short, every thing that is great in the whole circle of being, whether within the verge of nature, or out of it, has a proper part assigned it in this admirable poem.

In poetry, as in architecture, not only the whole, but the principal members, and every part of them, should be great. I will not presume to say, that the book of games in the *Æneid*, or that in the *Iliad*, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend Virgil's simile of the top, and many other of the same kind in the *Iliad*, as liable to any censure in this particular; but I think we may say, without derogating from those wonderful performances, that there is an indisputable and unquestioned magnificence

magnificence in every part of Paradise Lost, and indeed a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan system.

But Aristotle, by the greatness of the action, does not only mean that it should be great in its nature, but also in its duration; or in other words, that it should have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call greatness. The just measure of this kind of magnitude, he explains by the following similitude. An animal, no bigger than a mite, cannot appear perfect to the eye, because the sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused idea of the whole, and not a distinct idea of all its parts; If on the contrary you should suppose an animal of ten thousand furlongs in length, the eye would be so filled with a single part of it, that it could not give the mind an idea of the whole. What these animals are to the eye, a very short or a very long action would be to the memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have shown their principal art in this particular; the action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the invention of episodes, and the machinery of Gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable story sufficient to employ the memory without overcharging it. Milton's action is enriched with such a variety of circumstances, that I have taken as much pleasure in reading the contents of his books, as in the best invented story I ever met with. It is possible, that the traditions, on which the Iliad and Æneid were built, had more circumstances in them than the history of the fall of Man, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumstances

upon which to raise his poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in every thing that he added out of his own invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the restraints he was under, he has filled his story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close analogy with what is delivered in holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offense to the most scrupulous.

The modern critics have collected from several hints in the Iliad and Æneid the space of time, which is taken up by the action of each of those poems; but as a great part of Milton's story was transacted in regions that lie out of the reach of the sun and the sphere of day, it is impossible to gratify the reader with such a calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; none of the critics, either ancient or modern, having laid down rules to circumscribe the action of an epic poem within any determined number of years, days, or hours.

But of this more particularly hereafter.

HAVING examined the action of Paradise Lost, let us in the next place consider the actors. This is Aristotle's method of considering; first the fable, and secondly the manners, or as we generally call them in English, the fable and the characters.

Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his characters. Every God that is admitted into his poem, acts a part which would have been suitable to no other Deity. His princes are as much distinguished by their manners as by their dominions; and even those among them, whose characters seem wholly made up of courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel. In short, there is scarce a speech or action in the Iliad, which the reader may not ascribe to the person that speaks
or

or acts, without seeing his name at the head of it.

Homer does not only out-shine all other poets in the variety, but also in the novelty of his characters. He has introduced among his Grecian princes a person, who had lived in three ages of men, and conversed with Theseus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the first race of heroes. His principal actor is the son of a Goddess, not to mention the offspring of other Deities, who have likewise a place in his poem, and the venerable Trojan prince who was the father of so many kings and heroes. There is in these several characters of Homer, a certain dignity as well as novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the nature of an heroic poem. Tho' at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a Vulcan, that is, a buffoon among his Gods, and a Therfites among his mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Æneas is indeed a perfect character, but as for Achates, tho' he is stiled the hero's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deserve that title. Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character,

—fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum.

Virg.

There are indeed several very natural incidents in the part of Ascanius; as that of Dido cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see any thing new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are remote copies of Hector and Priam, as Lausus and Mezentius are almost parallels to Pallas and Evander. The characters of Nisus and Euryalus are beautiful, but common. We must not forget the parts of Sinon, Camilla, and some few others, which are fine improvements on the Greek poet. In short, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the persons of the Æneid, which we meet with in those of the Iliad.

If we look into the characters of Milton, we shall find that he has introduced all the variety his fable was capable of receiving. The whole species of mankind was in two persons at the time to which the subject of his poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct characters in these two persons. We see Man and Woman in the highest innocence and perfection, and in the most abject state of guilt and infirmity. The two last characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole circle of nature.

Milton was so sensible of this defect in the subject of his poem, and of the few characters it would afford him, that he has brought into it two actors of a shadowy and fictitious nature, in the persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has wrought into the body of his fable a very beautiful and well-invented allegory. But notwithstanding the fineness of this allegory may atone for it in some measure; I cannot think that persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem; because there is not that measure of probability annexed to them, which is requisite in writings of this kind, as I shall show more at large hereafter.

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an actress in the Æneid, but the part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired circumstances in that divine work. We find in mock-heroic poems, particularly in the Dispensary and the Lutrin, several allegorical persons of this nature, which are very beautiful in those compositions, and may, perhaps, be used as an argument, that the authors of them were of opinion, such characters might have a place in an epic work. For my own part, I should be glad the reader would think so, for the sake of the poem I am now examining, and must further add, that if such empty unsubstantial beings may be ever made use of on this occasion,

occasion, never were any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper actions, than those of which I am now speaking.

Another principal actor in this poem is the great enemy of mankind. The part of Ulysses in Homer's *Odyssæy* is very much admired by Aristotle, as perplexing that fable with very agreeable plots and intricacies, not only by the many adventures in his voyage, and the subtlety of his behaviour, but by the various concealments and discoveries of his person in several parts of that poem. But the crafty being I have now mentioned, makes a much longer voyage than Ulysses, puts in practice many more wiles and stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of shapes and appearances, all of which are severally detected, to the great delight and surprise of the reader.

We may likewise observe with how much art the poet has varied several characters of the persons that speak in his infernal assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards Man in its full benevolence under the three-fold distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter!

Nor must we omit the person of Raphael, who, amidst his tenderness and friendship for Man, shows such a dignity and condescension in all his speech and behaviour, as are suitable to a superior nature. The Angels are indeed as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their proper parts, as the Gods are in Homer or Virgil. The reader will find nothing ascribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective characters.

There is another circumstance in the principal actors of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*, which gives a peculiar beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment. I mean the authors having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote founder of

VOL. I.

Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes, and victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes, or disappointments that befel him; as a Greek must have had the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain, that each of those poems have lost this great advantage, among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers, or indifferent persons.

Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost happiness is concerned, and lies at stake in all their behaviour.

I shall subjoin as a corollary to the foregoing remark, an admirable observation out of Aristotle, which hath been very much misrepresented in the quotations of some modern critics. 'If a man of perfect and consummate virtue falls into a misfortune, it raises our pity, but not our terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own case, who do not resemble the suffering person. But as that great philosopher adds, 'If we see a man of virtue, mixt with infirmities, fall into any misfortune, it does not only raise our pity but our terror; because we are afraid that the like misfortunes may happen to ourselves, who resemble the character of the suffering person.

I shall only remark in this place, that the foregoing observation of Aristotle, tho' it may be true in other occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present case, though the persons

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who

who fall into misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own case; since we are embark'd with them on the same bottom, and must be partakers of their happiness or misery.

In this, and some other very few instances, Aristotle's rules for epic poetry (which he had drawn from his reflections upon Homer) cannot be supposed to square exactly with the heroic poems which have been made since his time; since it is evident to every impartial judge his rules would still have been more perfect, could he have perused the *Æneid* which was made some hundred years after his death.

In my next, I shall go through other parts of Milton's poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

WE have already taken a general survey of the fable and characters in Milton's *Paradise Lost*: The parts which remain to be consider'd, according to Aristotle's method, are the sentiments and the language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must advertise my reader, that it is my design as soon as I have finished my general reflections on these four several heads, to give particular instances out of the poem now before us of beauties and imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the reader may not judge too hastily of this piece of criticism, or look upon it as imperfect, before he has seen the whole extent of it.

The sentiments in an epic poem are the thoughts and behaviour which the author ascribes to the persons whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformable to the characters of the several persons. The sentiments have likewise a relation to things as well as persons, and

are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the subject. If in either of these cases the poet endeavors to argue or explain, to magnify or diminish, to raise love or hatred, pity or terror, or any other passion, we ought to consider whether the sentiments he makes use of are proper for those ends. Homer is censured by the critics for his defect as to this particular in several parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, tho' at the same time those who have treated this great poet with candor, have attributed this defect to the times in which he lived. It was the fault of the age, and not of Homer, if there wants that delicacy in some of his sentiments, which now appears in the works of men of a much inferior genius. Besides, if there are blemishes in any particular thoughts, there is an infinite beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many poets who would not have fallen into the meanness of some of his sentiments, there are none who could have risen up to the greatness of others. Virgil has excelled all others in the propriety of his sentiments. Milton shines likewise very much in this particular: Nor must we omit one consideration which adds to his honor and reputation. Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men, and such as are to be met with either in history, or in ordinary conversation. Milton's characters, most of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater genius in Shakespear to have drawn his Caliban, than his Hotspur or Julius Cæsar: The one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history and observation. It was much easier therefore for Homer to find proper sentiments for an assembly of Grecian generals, than for Milton to diversify his infernal council with proper characters, and inspire them with a variety of sentiments. The loves of Dido and *Æneas* are only copies of what has passed between other persons. Adam and

and Eve before the fall, are a different species from that of mankind, who are descended from them; and none but a poet of the most unbounded invention, and the most exquisite judgment, cou'd have filled their conversation and behaviour with so many apt circumstances during their state of innocence.

Nor is it sufficient for an epic poem to be filled with such thoughts as are natural, unless it abound also with such as are sublime. Virgil in this particular falls short of Homer. He has not indeed so many thoughts that are low and vulgar; but at the same time has not so many thoughts that are sublime and noble. The truth of it is, Virgil seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments, where he is not fired by the Iliad. He every where charms and pleases us by the force of his own genius; but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his hints from Homer.

Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There are others of the moderns who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas, than those which he has laid together in his first, second and sixth books. The seventh, which describes the creation of the world, is likewise wonderfully sublime, tho' not so apt to stir up emotion in the mind of the reader, nor consequently so perfect in the epic way of writing, because it is filled with less action. Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has observed on several passages in Homer, and he will find parallels for most of them in the Paradise Lost.

From what has been said we may infer, that as there are two kinds of sentiments, the natural and the sublime, which are always to be pursued in an heroic poem, there are also two kinds of thoughts which are carefully to be

avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in Virgil: He has none of those trifling points and puerilities that are so often to be met with in Ovid, none of the epigrammatic turns of Lucan, none of those swelling sentiments which are so frequently in Statius and Claudian, none of those mixed embellishments of Tasso. Every thing is just and natural. His sentiments show that he had a perfect insight into human nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it.

Mr. Dryden has in some places, which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking as to this particular, in the translation he has given us of the Æneid. I do not remember that Homer any where falls into the faults abovementioned, which were indeed the false refinements of later ages. Milton, it must be confessed, has sometimes erred in this respect, as I shall shew more at large in another paper; tho' considering all the poets of the age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did sometimes comply with the vicious taste which still prevails so much among modern writers.

But since several thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an epic poet should not only avoid such sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are mean and vulgar. Homer has opened a great field of rallery to men of more delicacy than greatness of genius, by the homeliness of some of his sentiments. But, as I have before said, these are rather to be imputed to the simplicity of the age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any imperfection in that divine poet. Zoilus, among the Ancients, and Monsieur Perrault, among the Moderns, pushed their ridicule very far upon him,

him, on account of some such sentiments. There is no blemish to be observed in Virgil, under this head, and but a very few in Milton.

I shall give but one instance of this impropriety of thought in Homer, and at the same time compare it with an instance of the same nature, both in Virgil and Milton. Sentiments which raise laughter, can very seldom be admitted with any decency into an heroic poem, whose business is to excite passions of a much nobler nature. Homer, however, in his characters of Vulcan and Thersites, in his story of Mars and Venus, in his behaviour of Irus, and in other passages, has been observed to have lapsed into the burlesque character, and to have departed from that serious air which seems essential to the magnificence of an epic poem. I remember but one laugh in the whole *Æneid*, which rises in the fifth book upon Monceus, where he is represented as thrown overboard, and drying himself upon a rock. But this piece of mirth is so well timed, that the severest critic can have nothing to say against it, for it is in the book of games and diversions, where the reader's mind may be supposed to be sufficiently relaxed for such an entertainment. The only piece of pleasantry in *Paradise Lost*, is where the evil spirits are described as rallying the Angels upon the success of their new invented artillery. This passage I look upon to be the most exceptionable in the whole poem, as being nothing else but a string of puns, and those too very indifferent.

— Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O Friends, why come not on these victors
proud !
Ere while they fierce were coming, and when we,
To entertain them fair with *open front*,
And breast, (what could we more) propounded
terms

Of *composition*; strait they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
As they would dance, yet for a dance they
seem'd

Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace; but I suppose
If our proposals once again were *heard*,
We should compel them to a quick *result*.

To whom thus Belial in like gamefome mood.
Leader, the terms we sent, were terms of *weight*,
Of *hard contents*, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And *stumbled* many; who receives them right,
Had need, from head to foot, well *understand*;
Not *understood*, this gift they have besides,
They show us when our foes *walk not upright*.

Thus they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing —

HAVING already treated of the fable, the characters and sentiments in the *Paradise Lost*, we are in the last place to consider the language; and as the learned world is very much divided upon Milton as to this point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my opinions, and incline to those who judge the most advantageously of the author.

It is requisite that the language of an heroic poem should be both perspicuous and sublime. In proportion as either of these two qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary qualification; insomuch that a good-natur'd reader sometimes overlooks a little slip even in the grammar or syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the poet's sense. Of this kind is that passage in Milton, wherein he speaks of Satan.

— God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valu'd he nor shunn'd.

And that in which he describes Adam and Eve.
Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

It is plain, that in the former of these passages, according to the natural syntax, the divine Persons mentioned in the first line are represented as created beings; and that in the other, Adam and Eve are confounded with their sons and daughters. Such little blemishes

as these, when the thought is great and natural, we should, with Horace, impute to a pardonable inadvertency, or to the weakness of human nature, which cannot attend to each minute particular, and give the last finishing to every circumstance in so long a work. The ancient critics therefore, who were acted by a spirit of candor, rather than that of cavilling, invented certain figures of speech, on purpose to palliate little errors of this nature in the writings of those authors who had so many greater beauties to atone for them.

If clearness and perspicuity were only to be consulted, the poet would have nothing else to do but to clothe his thoughts in the most plain and natural expressions. But since it often happens that the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take particular care to guard himself against idiomatic ways of speaking. Ovid and Lucan have many poor-nesses of expression upon this account, as taking up with the first phrases that offered, without putting themselves to the trouble of looking after such as would not only be natural, but also elevated and sublime. Milton has but a few failings in this kind, of which, however, you may meet with some instances, as in the following passages.

Embrio's and idiots, eremites and friers
White, black and gray, with all their trumpery,
Here pilgrims roam —

— A while discourse they hold,
No fear lest dinner cool; when thus began
Our author —

Who of all ages to succeed, but feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curse
My head, Ill fare our Ancestor impure,
For this we may thank Adam —

The great masters in composition know very well that many an elegant phrase becomes im-

proper for a poet or an orator, when it has been debased by common use. For this reason the works of ancient authors, which are written in dead languages, have a great advantage over those which are written in languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean phrases or idioms in Virgil and Homer, they would not shock the ear of the most delicate modern reader, so much as they would have done that of an old Greek or Roman, because we never hear them pronounced in our streets, or in ordinary conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient, that the language of an epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrases of speech. The judgment of a poet very much discovers itself in shunning the common roads of expression, without falling into such ways of speech as may seem stiff and unnatural; he must not swell into a false sublime, by endeavoring to avoid the other extreme. Among the Greeks, Æschylus, and sometimes Sophocles were guilty of this fault; among the Latins, Claudian and Statius; and among our own Countrymen, Shakespear and Lee. In these authors the affectation of greatness often hurts the perspicuity of the stile, as in many others the endeavor after perspicuity prejudices its greatness.

Aristotle has observed, that the idiomatic stile may be avoided, and the sublime formed, by the following methods. First, by the use of metaphors: such are those in Milton,

Imparadis'd in one another's arms. —

— And in his hand a reed —

Stood waving *tipt* with fire. —

The grassy clods now *calv'd*. —

Spangled with eyes —

In these and innumerable other instances, the metaphors are very bold but just; I must however observe, that the metaphors are not thick sown in Milton, which always favors too much of wit; that they never clash with one another, which,

which, as Aristotle observes, turns a sentence into a kind of an enigma or riddle; and that he seldom has recourse to them where the proper and natural words will do as well.

Another way of raising the language, and giving it a poetical turn, is to make use of the idioms of other tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek forms of speech, which the critics call Hellenisms, as Horace in his odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the several dialects which Homer has made use of for this end. Milton in conformity with the practice of the ancient poets, and with Aristotle's rule, has infused a great many Latinisms as well as Græcisms, and sometimes Hebraisms, into the language of his poem; as towards the beginning of it,

Nor did they *not* perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains *not* feel.
Yet to their gen'ral's voice they soon obey'd.

— Who shall tempt with wandring feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite abyss,
And through the *palpable obscure* find out
His uncouth way, or spread his airy flight
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the *vast abrupt*!

— So both ascend
In the visions of God —

B. II.

Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the substantive, the transposition of words, the turning the adjective into a substantive, with several other foreign modes of speech, which this poet has naturalized to give his verse the greater sound, and throw it out of prose.

The third method mentioned by Aristotle, is what agrees with the genius of the Greek language more than with that of any other tongue, and is therefore more used by Homer than by any other poet. I mean the lengthning of a phrase by the addition of words, which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contracting of particular

words by the insertion or omission of certain syllables. Milton has put in practice this method of raising his language, as far as the nature of our tongue will permit, as in the passage above-mentioned, *eremite*, for what is *hermite*, in common discourse. If you observe the measure of his verse, he has with great judgment suppressed a syllable in several words, and shortened those of two syllables into one, by which method, besides the above-mentioned advantage, he has given a greater variety to his numbers. But this practice is more particularly remarkable in the names of persons and of countries, as *Beëlzebub*, *Hessebon*, and in many other particulars, wherein he has either changed the name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better depart from the language of the vulgar.

The same reason recommended to him several old words, which also makes his poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater air of antiquity.

I must likewise take notice, that there are in Milton several words of his own coining, as *Cerberian*, *miscreated*, *Hell-doom'd*, *embryon* atoms, and many others. If the reader is offended at this liberty in our English poet, I would recommend him to a discourse in Plutarch, which shows us how frequently Homer has made use of the same liberty.

Milton by the above-mentioned helps, and by the choice of the noblest words and phrases which our tongue would afford him, has carried our language to a greater highth than any of the English poets have ever done before or after him, and made the sublimity of his style equal to that of his sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these observations on Milton's style, because it is that part of him in which he appears the most singular. The remarks I have here made upon the practice of other poets, with my observations out of Aristotle, will perhaps alleviate the prejudice which some have taken to his poem upon

upon this account; tho' after all, I must confess, that I think his stile, tho' admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those methods, which Aristotle has prescribed for the raising of it.

This redundancy of those several ways of speech which Aristotle calls foreign language, and with which Milton has so very much enriched, and in some places darkened the language of his poem, was the more proper for his use, because his poem is written in blank verse. Rime without any other assistance, throws the language off from prose, and very often makes an indifferent phrase pass unregarded; but where the verse is not built upon rimes, there pomp of sound, and energy of expression, are indispensably necessary to support the stile, and keep it from falling into the flatness of prose.

Those who have not a taste for this elevation of stile, and are apt to ridicule a poet when he goes out of the common forms of expression, would do well to see how Aristotle has treated an ancient author, called Euclid, for his insipid mirth upon this occasion. Mr. Dryden used to call this sort of men his prose-critics.

I should, under this head of the language, consider Milton's numbers, in which he has made use of several elisions, that are not customary among other English poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the letter *Y*, when it precedes a vowel. This, and some other innovations in the measure of his verse, has varied his numbers, in such a manner, as makes them incapable of fatiating the ear and cloying the reader, which the same uniform measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual returns of rime never fail to do in long narrative poems. I shall close these reflections upon the language of Paradise Lost, with observing that Milton has copied after Homer, rather than Virgil, in the length of his periods, the copiousness of his

phrases, and the running of his verses into one another.

I HAVE now consider'd Milton's Paradise Lost under those four great heads of the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language; and have shown that he excels, in general, under each of these heads. I hope that I have made several discoveries which may appear new, even to those who are versed in critical learning. Were I indeed to choose my readers, by whose judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the French and Italian critics, but also with the ancient and modern who have written in either of the learned languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the Greek and Latin poets, without which a man very often fancies that he understands a critic, when in reality he does not comprehend his meaning.

It is in criticism, as in all other sciences and speculations; one who brings with him any implicit notions and observations which he has made in his reading of the poets, will find his own reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little hints that had passed in his mind, perfected and improved in the works of a good critic; whereas one who has not these previous lights, is very often an utter stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient, that a man who sets up for a judge in criticism, should have perused the authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and logical head. Without this talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own blunders, mistakes the sense of those he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his thoughts to another with clearness and perspicuity. Aristotle, who was the best critic, was also one of the best logicians that ever appeared in the world.

Mr.

Mr. Lock's Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd book for a man to make himself master of, who would get a reputation by critical writings; though at the same time it is very certain, that an author, who has not learned the art of distinguishing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts, and setting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will lose himself in confusion and obscurity. I might further observe, that there is not a Greek or Latin critic who has not shown, even in the stile of his criticisms, that he was a master of all the elegance and delicacy of his native tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd than for a man to set up for a critic, without a good insight into all the parts of learning; whereas many of those who have endeavored to signalize themselves by works of this nature among our English writers, are not only defective in the abovementioned particulars, but plainly discover by the phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary systems of arts and sciences. A few general rules extracted out of the French authors, with a certain cant of words, has sometimes set up an illiterate heavy writer for a most judicious and formidable critic.

One great mark, by which you may discover a critic who has neither taste nor learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any passage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public, and that his criticism turns wholly upon little faults and errors. This part of a critic is so very easy to succeed in, that we find every ordinary reader, upon the publishing of a new poem, has wit and ill-nature enough to turn several passages of it into ridicule, and very often in the right place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated lines,

Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow;
He who would search for pearls must dive below.

A true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate to the world such things as are worth their observation. The most exquisite words and finest strokes of an author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable, to a man who wants a relish for polite learning; and they are these, which a sour undistinguishing critic generally attacks with the greatest violence. Tully observes, that it is very easy to brand or fix a mark upon what he calls *verbum ardens*, or, as it may be rendered into English, a glowing bold expression, and to turn it into ridicule by a cold ill-natured criticism. A little wit is equally capable of exposing a beauty, and of aggravating a fault; and though such a treatment of an author naturally produces indignation in the mind of an understanding reader, it has however its effect among the generality of those whose hands it falls into, the rabble of mankind being very apt to think that every thing which is laughed at with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself.

Such a mirth as this, is always unseasonable in a critic, as it rather prejudices the reader, than convinces him, and is capable of making a beauty, as well as a blemish, the subject of derision. A man, who cannot write with wit on a proper subject, is dull and stupid, but one who shows it in an improper place, is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a man who has the gift of ridicule, is apt to find fault with any thing that gives him an opportunity of exerting his beloved talent, and very often censures a passage, not because there is any fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of pleasantries are very unfair and disingenuous in works of criticism, in which the greatest masters,

masters, both ancient and modern, have always appeared with a serious and instructive air.

As I intend in my next paper to show the defects in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, I thought fit to premise these few particulars, to the end that the reader may know I enter upon it, as on a very ungrateful work, and that I shall just point at the imperfections, without endeavoring to inflame them with ridicule. I must also observe with Longinus, that the productions of a great genius, with many lapses and inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the works of an inferior kind of author, which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing.

I shall conclude my paper with a story out of Boccacini, which sufficiently shows us the opinion that judicious author entertained of the sort of critics I have been here mentioning. A famous critic, says he, having gathered together all the faults of an eminent poet, made a present of them to Apollo, who received them very graciously, and resolved to make the author a suitable return for the trouble he had been at in collecting them. In order to this, he set before him a sack of wheat as it had been just threshed out of the sheaf. He then bid him pick out the chaff from among the corn, and lay it aside by itself. The critic applied himself to the task with great industry and pleasure, and after having made the due separation, was presented by Apollo with the chaff for his pains.

AFTER what I have said, I shall enter on the subject without farther preface, and remark the several defects which appear in the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; not doubting but the reader will pardon me, if I alledge at the same time whatever may be said for the extenuation of such defects. The first imperfection which I shall observe in the fable is, that the event of it is unhappy.

VOL. I.

The fable of every poem is according to Aristotle's division either simple or implex. It is called simple when there is no change of fortune in it, implex when the fortune of the chief actor changes from bad to good, or from good to bad. The implex fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose, because it is more proper to stir up the passions of the reader, and to surprise him with a greater variety of accidents.

The implex fable is therefore of two kinds: In the first the chief actor makes his way through a long series of dangers and difficulties, till he arrives at honor and prosperity, as we see in the story of Ulysses. In the second, the chief actor in the poem falls from some eminent pitch of honor and prosperity, into misery and disgrace. Thus we see Adam and Eve sinking from a state of innocence and happiness, into the most abject condition of sin and sorrow.

The most taking tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last sort of implex fable, particularly the tragedy of OEdipus, which proceeds upon a story, if we may believe Aristotle, the most proper for tragedy that could be invented by the wit of man. I have taken some pains in a former paper to show, that this kind of implex fable, wherein the event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late years in our own country, are raised upon contrary plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of fable, which is the most perfect in tragedy, is not so proper for an heroic poem.

Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endeavored to cure it by several expedients; particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal Spirits, as it is described in a beautiful passage of the tenth

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book;

book; and likewise by the vision, wherein Adam at the close of the poem sees his offspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himself restored to a happier Paradise than that from which he fell.

There is another objection against Milton's fable, which is indeed almost the same with the former, tho' placed in a different light, namely, That the hero in the Paradise Lost is unsuccessful, and by no means a match for his enemies. This gave occasion to Mr. Dryden's reflection, that the Devil was in reality Milton's hero. I think I have obviated this objection in my first paper. The Paradise Lost is an epic, or a narrative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it, searches for that which Milton never intended; but if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any person in it, 'tis certainly the Messiah is the hero, both in the principal action, and in the chief episodes. Paganism could not furnish out a real action for a fable greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid, and therefore an heathen could not form a higher notion of a poem than one of that kind which they call an heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a sublimer nature I will not presume to determin: It is sufficient that I show there is in the Paradise Lost all the greatness of plan, regularity of design, and masterly beauties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.

I must in the next place observe, that Milton has interwoven in the texture of his fable some particulars which do not seem to have probability enough for an epic poem, particularly in the actions which he ascribes to Sin and Death, and the picture which he draws of the Limbo of Vanity, with other passages in the second book. Such allegories rather favor of the spirit of Spenser and Ariosto, than of Homer and Virgil.

In the structure of this poem he has likewise admitted of too many digressions. It is finely observed by Aristotle, that the author of an heroic poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his work as he can into

the mouths of those who are his principal actors. Aristotle has given no reason for this precept; but I presume it is because the mind of the reader is more awed and elevated when he hears Æneas or Achilles speak, than when Virgil or Homer talk in their own persons. Besides that assuming the character of an eminent man is apt to fire the imagination, and raise the ideas of the author. Tully tells us, mentioning his dialogue of old age, in which Cato is the chief speaker, that upon a review of it he was agreeably imposed upon, and fancied that it was Cato, and not he himself, who uttered his thoughts on that subject.

If the reader would be at the pains to see how the story of the Iliad and Æneid is delivered by those persons who act in it, he will be surprised to find how little in either of these poems proceeds from the authors. Milton has, in the general disposition of his fable, very finely observed this great rule; insomuch, that there is scarce a third part of it which comes from the poet; the rest is spoken either by Adam and Eve, or by some good or evil Spirit who is engaged either in their destruction or defense.

From what has been here observed, it appears, that digressions are by no means to be allowed of in an epic poem. If the poet, even in the ordinary course of his narration, should speak as little as possible, he should certainly never let his narration sleep for the sake of any reflections of his own. I have often observed, with a secret admiration, that the longest reflection in the Æneid is in that passage of the tenth book, where Turnus is represented as dressing himself in the spoils of Pallas, whom he had slain. Virgil here lets his fable stand still for the sake of the following remark. "How is the mind of man ignorant of futurity, and unable to bear prosperous fortune with moderation? The time will come when Turnus shall wish that he had left the body of Pallas untouched, and curse the day on which he dressed himself in these spoils." As the

the great event of the *Æneid*, and the death of Turnus, whom *Æneas* slew, because he saw him adorned with the spoils of *Pallas*, turns upon this incident, *Virgil* went out of his way to make this reflection upon it, without which so small a circumstance might possibly have slipped out of his reader's memory. *Lucan*, who was an injudicious poet, lets drop his story very frequently for the sake of his unnecessary digressions, or his diverticula, as *Scaliger* calls them. If he gives us an account of the prodigies which preceded the civil war, he declaims upon the occasion, and shows how much happier it would be for man, if he did not feel his evil fortune before it comes to pass, and suffer not only by its real weight, but by the apprehension of it. *Milton's* complaint of his blindness, his panegyric on marriage, his reflections on *Adam* and *Eve's* going naked, of the *Angels* eating, and several other passages in his poem, are liable to the same exception, tho' I must confess there is so great a beauty in these very digressions that I would not wish them out of his poem.

I have, in a former paper, spoken of the characters of *Milton's Paradise Lost*, and declared my opinion, as to the allegorical persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the sentiments, I think they are sometimes defective under the following heads; First, as there are several of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into puns. Of this last kind, I am afraid is that in the first book, where speaking of the pigmies, he calls them

—— the small infantry
Warr'd on by cranes ——

Another blemish that appears in some of his thoughts, is his frequent allusion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine subject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with these allusions, where the poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does

in some places, but where he mentions them as truths and matters of fact. The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in instances of this kind: The reader will easily remark them in his perusal of the poem.

A third fault in his sentiments, is an unnecessary ostentation of learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain, that both *Homer* and *Virgil* were masters of all the learning of their times, but it shows itself in their works, after an indirect and concealed manner. *Milton* seems ambitious of letting us know, by his excursions on free-will and predestination, and his many glances upon history, astronomy, geography, and the like, as well as by the terms and phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole circle of arts and sciences.

If, in the last place, we consider the language of this great poet, we must allow what I have hinted in a former paper, that it is often too much labored, and sometimes obscured by old words, transpositions, and foreign idioms. *Seneca's* objection to the style of a great author, *Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil lene*, is what many critics make to *Milton*: As I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apologized for it in another paper; to which I may further add, that *Milton's* sentiments and ideas were so wonderfully sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full strength and beauty, without having recourse to these foreign assistances. Our language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul, which furnished him with such glorious conceptions.

A second fault in his language is, that he often affects a kind of jingle in his words, as in the following passages, and many others:

That brought into this world a world of woe.
—— Begirt th' almighty throne
Beseeking or *besieging* ——
This tempted our attempt ——
At one slight bound high over-leapt all bound.
I know

I know there are figures for this kind of speech, that some of the greatest Ancients have been guilty of it, and that Aristotle himself has given it a place in his Rhetoric among the beauties of that art. But as it is in itself poor and trifling, it is I think at present universally exploded by all the masters of polite writing.

The last fault which I shall take notice of in Milton's stile, is the frequent use of what the learned call technical words, or terms of art. It is one of the great beauties of poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of itself in such easy language as may be understood by ordinary readers: Besides that the knowledge of a poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than drawn from books and systems. I have often wondered, how Mr. Dryden could translate a passage out of Virgil, after the following manner,

Tack to the larboard, and stand off to sea,
Veer star-board sea and land. —

Milton makes use of *larboard* in the same manner. When he is upon building, he mentions *Doric pillars, pilasters, cornice, freeze, archi-*

trave. When he talks of heavenly bodies, you meet with *ecliptic*, and *eccentric*, the *trepidation*, *stars dropping from the zenith*, *rays culminating from the equator*. To which might be added many instances of the like kind in several other arts and sciences.

I shall in my next papers give an account of the many particular beauties in Milton, which would have been too long to insert under those general heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this piece of criticism.

I HAVE seen in the works of a modern philosopher, a map of the spots in the sun. My last paper of the faults and blemishes in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, may be considered as a piece of the same nature. To pursue the allusion: As it is observed, that among the bright parts of the luminous body above-mentioned, there are some which glow more intensely, and dart a stronger light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shown Milton's poem to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest.

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THE
FIRST BOOK
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PARADISE LOST.

VOL. I.

B

T H E A R G U M E N T.

This first book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac'd: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action pass'd over, the poem hastes into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accus'd) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonish'd, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; They rise, their numbers, array of battel, their chief leaders nam'd, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in Heaven; for that Angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determin thereon he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there sit in council.

P A R A D I S E L O S T .

B O O K I.

OF Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With

1. *Of Man's first disobedience, &c.*] Milton has proposed the subject of his poem in the following verses. These lines are perhaps as plain, simple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himself to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace. His invocation to a work, which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature. This whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural. *Addison.*

Besides the plainness and simplicity of these lines, there is a farther beauty in the variety of the numbers, which of themselves charm every reader without any sublimity of thought or pomp of expression: and this variety of the numbers consists chiefly in the pause being so artfully varied, that it falls upon a different syllable in almost every line, as it may easily be perceived by distinguishing the verses thus;

Of Man's first disobedience, | and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, | whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, | and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, | till one greater Man
Restore us, | and regain the blissful seat,
Sing heav'nly Muse, |

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walsh containing some critical observations on English versification, remarks that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versification. But Milton varies the pause according to the sense, and varies it through all the ten syllables, by which means he is a master of greater harmony than any other English poet: and he is continually varying the pause, and scarce ever suffers it to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many as two, verses together. Here it is upon the first syllable of the verse,

—— others on the grass
Couch'd, | and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat.
IV. 351.

—— such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues; | they astonish'd all resistance lost.
VI. 838.

With loss of Eden, 'till one greater Man

Restore

Upon the second,

— these to their nests

Were flunk, | all but the wakeful nightingale
IV. 602.

— Down thither prone in flight

He speeds, | and through the vast ethereal sky
V. 267.

Upon the third,

— what in me is dark

Illumin, | what is low raise and support; I. 23.

— as the wakeful bird

Sings darkling, | and in shadiest covert hid
III. 39.

Upon the fourth,

— on he led his radiant files;

Dazling the moon; | these to the bow'r direct
IV. 798.

— at his right hand victory

Sat eagle-wing'd; | beside him hung his bow,
VI. 763.

Upon the fifth,

— bears, tigers, ounces, pards,

Gambol'd before them; | th'unwieldy elephant
IV. 345.

— and in the air

Made horrid circles; | two broad suns their shields
VI. 305.

Upon the sixth,

His stature reach'd the sky, | and on his crest
IV. 988.

Girt with omnipotence, | with radiance crown'd.
VII. 194.

Upon the seventh,

Majestic though in ruin: | sage he stood
II. 305.

Birds on the branches warbling; | all things smil'd
VIII. 265.

Upon the eighth,

Hung on his shoulders like the moon, | whose orb
I. 287.

A fairer person lost not Heav'n; | he seem'd
II. 110.

Upon the ninth,

Jehovah thundring out of Sion, | thron'd
Between the Cherubim I. 386.

And bush with frizled hair implicit; | last
Rose as in dance the stately trees, VII. 323.

And here upon the end,

— thou that day

Thy Father's dreadful thunder did'st not spare |
III. 393.

Attended with ten thousand thousand saints |
VI. 767.

And sometimes to give the greater variety to
the verse, there are two or more pauses in the
same line: as

— on the ground

Outstretch'd he lay, | on the cold ground, | and oft
Curs'd his creation X. 851.

And swims, | or sinks, | or wades, | or creeps, | or flies: |
II. 950.

Exhausted, | spiritless, | afflicted, | fall'n. |
VI. 852.

But besides this variety of the pauses, there
are other excellencies in Milton's versification.
The English heroic verse approaches nearest to
the Iambic of the Ancients, of which it wants
only a foot; but then it is to be measur'd by
the tone and accent, as well as by the time and
quantity. An Iambic foot is one short and
one long syllable $\cup -$, and six such feet consti-
tute an Iambic verse: but the Ancients seldom
made use of the pure Iambic, especially in
works of any considerable length, but oftner
of the mix'd Iambic, that is with a proper in-
termixture of other measures; and of these
perhaps Milton has express'd as happy a variety
as any poet whatever, or indeed as the nature
of a verse will admit, that consists only of five
feet, and ten syllables for the most part. Some-
times he gives us almost pure Iambics, as in
I. 314.

Hē cāll'd sō loūd, thāt āll thē hōllow dēep
Of Hēll rēfōundēd.

Sometimes he intermixes the Trochee or foot
of

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,

5

Sing

of one long and one short syllable $\bar{\cup}$, as in v. 49.

Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

Sometimes the Spondee or foot of two long syllables $\bar{\bar{\cup}}$, as in v. 21.

Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss.

Sometimes the Pyrrichius or foot of two short syllables $\cup\cup$, as in v. 64.

Serv'd only to discover fights of woe.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of one long and two short syllables $\bar{\cup}\cup$, as in v. 45.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' æthereal sky.

Sometimes the Anapæst or foot of two short and one long syllable $\cup\cup\bar{\cup}$, as in v. 87.

Mÿriads though bright! If he whom mutual league

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot of three short syllables $\cup\cup\cup$, as in v. 709.

To mǎny a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.

And sometimes there is variety of these measures in the same verse, and seldom or never the same measures in two verses together.

And these changes are not only rung for the sake of the greater variety, but are so contriv'd as to make the sound more expressive of the sense. And this is another great art of versification, the adapting of the very sounds, as well as words, to the subject matter, the stile of sound, as Mr. Pope calls it: and in this Milton is excellent as in all the rest, and we shall give several instances of it in the course of these remarks. So that he has abundantly exemplified in his own practice the rules laid down by himself in his preface, his versification having all the requisites of *true musical delight, which as he says consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.*

1. *Of Man's first disobedience ----]*

Μηνιν αειδε. Iliad.

Ανδρα μοι εννεπε. Odyss.

Arma virumque cano. Æneid.

In all these instances, as in Milton, the subject of the poem is the very first thing offer'd to us, and precedes the verb with which it is connected. It must be confessed that Horace did not regard this, when he translated the first line of the Odyssæy, Dic mihi Musa virum, &c. De Art. Poet. 141. And Lucian, if I remember right, makes a jest of this observation, where he introduces the shade of Homer as expressly declaring that he had no other reason for making the word $\mu\eta\nu\iota\nu$ the first in his poem, but that it was the first which came into his head. However the uniform practice of Homer, Virgil, and Milton in this particular, seems to prove that it was not accidental, but a thing really design'd by them.

4. *With loss of Eden,]* But Eden was not lost, and the last that we read of our first parents is that they were still in Eden,

Through Eden took their solitary way.

With loss of Eden therefore means no more than *with loss of Paradise*, which was planted in Eden, which word *Eden* signifies delight or pleasure, and the country is supposed to be the same that was afterwards called Mesopotamia; particularly by our author in IV. 210. &c. Here the whole is put for a part, as sometimes a part for the whole, by a figure called Synecdoche.

4. ----- *till one greater Man*

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,]

As it is a *greater Man*, so it is a happier Paradise which our Saviour promis'd to the penitent thief, Luke XXIII. 43. *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* But Milton had a notion that after the conflagration and the general judgment

Sing heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
 Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
 That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
 In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
 Rose out of Chaos: Or if Sion hill

10

Delight

judgment the whole Earth would be made a
 Paradise XII. 463.

----- for then the Earth

Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
 Than this of Eden, and far happier days.

It should seem that the author, speaking here of
regaining the blissful seat, had at this time formed
 some design of his poem of *Paradise Regain'd*.
 But however that be, in the beginning of that
 poem he manifestly alludes to the beginning of
 this, and there makes Paradise to be regain'd
 by our Saviour's foiling the tempter in the
 wilderness.

I who ere-while the happy garden sung,
 By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
 Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
 By one Man's firm obedience fully try'd, --
 And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

6. ----- *that on the secret top*
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, -----]

Dr. Bentley says that Milton dictated *sacred top*:
 his reasons are such as follow: The ground of
 Horeb is said to be *holy*, Exod. III. 5. and Ho-
 reb is called the *mountain of God* 1 Kings XIX. 8.
 But it may be answer'd, that tho' that place of
 Horeb, on which Moses stood, was *holy*, it
 does not follow that the top of the mountain
 was then *holy* too: and by the *mountain of God*
 (Dr. Bentley knows) may be meant only, in the
 Jewish stile, a very great mountain: Besides let
 the mountain be never so *holy*, yet according
 to the rules of good poetry, when Milton speaks

of the *top* of the mountain, he should give us
 an epithet peculiar to the *top* only, and not to
 the whole mountain. Dr. Bentley says farther
 that the epithet *secret* will not do here, because
 the top of this mountain is visible several
 leagues off. But Sinai and Horeb are the same
 mountain, with two several eminences, the
 higher of them called Sinai: and of Sinai Jo-
 sephus in his Jewish Antiquit. Book 3. Chap. 5.
 says that *it is so high, that the top of it cannot*
be seen without straining the eyes. In this sense
 therefore (tho' I believe it is not Milton's sense)
 the top of it may be well said to be *secret*. In
 Exod. XVII. it is said that the Israelites, when
 incamp'd at the foot of Horeb, could find no
 water; from whence Dr. Bentley concludes, that
 Horeb had no clouds or mists about its *top*;
 and that therefore *secret top* cannot be here
 meant as *implying that high mountains against*
rainy weather have their heads surrounded with
mists. I never thought that any reader of Milton
 would have understood *secret top* in this sense.
 The words of *Horeb* or of *Sinai* imply a doubt
 of the poet, which name was properest to be
 given to that mountain, on the top of which
 Moses receiv'd his inspiration; because Horeb
 and Sinai are used for one another in Scripture,
 as may be seen by comparing Exod. III. 1. with
 Acts VII. 30. but by naming Sinai last, he seems
 to incline rather to that. Now it is well known
 from Exod. XIX. 16. Eccclus. XLV. 5. and other
 places of Scripture, that when God gave his
 laws

Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
 Fast by the oracle of God; I thence
 Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
 That with no middle flight intends to soar
 Above th' Aonian mount, while it pursues

15

Things

laws to Moses on the top of Sinai, it was cover'd with *clouds, dark clouds, and thick smoke*; it was therefore *secret* at that time in a peculiar sense: and the same thing seems intended by the epithet which our poet uses upon the very same occasion in XII. 227.

God from the mount of Sinai, whose *gray top*
 Shall tremble, he descending, &c.

Dr. Bentley shows that *sacred hill* is common among the poets in several languages; from whence I should conclude that *sacred* is a general epithet: whereas *secret*, in the sense which I have given it, is the most peculiar one that can be: and therefore (to use Dr. Bentley's words) *if, as the best poets have adjudg'd, a proper epithet is to be preferr'd to a general one, I have such an esteem for our poet, that which of the two words is the better, That I say (viz. secret) was dictated by Milton.* Pearce.

We have given this excellent note at length, as we have met with several persons who have approved of Dr. Bentley's emendation. It may be too that the poet had a farther meaning in the use of this epithet in this place; for being accustomed to make use of words in the signification that they bear in the learned languages, he may very well be supposed to use the word *secret* in the same sense as the Latin *secretus*, *set apart* or *separate*, like the *secretosque pios* in Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 670. and it appears from Scripture, that while Moses was with God in the mount, the people were not to come near

it or touch it, till after a signal given, and then they were only to approach, and not to ascend it, nor pass the bounds set for them upon pain of death. *Exod.* XIX. So that upon all accounts *secret* is the most proper epithet, that could have been chosen.

8. *That shepherd, who first, &c.*] For *Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.* *Exod.* III. 1. And he is very properly said to have *first taught the chosen seed*, being the most ancient writer among the Jews, and indeed the most ancient that is now extant in the world.

9. *In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth*] Alluding to the first words of Genesis.

11. *and Siloa's brook*] Siloa was a small river that flow'd near the temple at Jerusalem. It is mention'd *Isai.* VIII. 6. So that in effect he invokes the heavenly Muse, that inspir'd David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jerusalem, as well as Moses on mount Sinai.

15. *Above th' Aonian mount,*] A poetical expression for soaring to a highth above other poets. The mountains of Bœotia, anciently called Aonia, were the haunt of the Muses, and thus Virgil, *Ecl.* VI. 65.

Aonas in montes ut duxerit una fororum,
 And again *Georg.* III. 11.

Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;
 though afterwards, I know not by what fatality, that country was famous for the dulness of its inhabitants.

16. Things

Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
 And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
 Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread 20

Dove-

[16. *Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*] Milton appears to have meant a different thing by *rhime* here, from *rime* in his preface, where it is six times mention'd, and always spell'd without an *b*; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appear'd, *rhime* in this place of the poem was spell'd with an *b*. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making so constant a difference in the spelling; and intended that we should here understand by *rhime* not the *jingling sound of like endings*, but verse in general; the word being deriv'd from *rythmus*, *ρῦθμος*. Ariosto had said

Cosa, non detta in *prosa* mai, ne in *rima*,
 which is word for word the same with what Milton says here. *Pearce*.

It is evident enough that by *rhime* in this place is meant verse in general; but I suppose Milton thought it would sound too low and familiar to the ear to say *in prose or verse*, and therefore chose rather to say *in prose or rhime*. When he says *in prose or verse*, he adds an epithet to take off from the commonness of the expression, as in V. 150.

----- such prompt eloquence
 Flow'd from their lips, *in prose or numerous verse*.

It is said that Milton took the first hint of this poem from an Italian tragedy called *Il*

Paradiso perso; and it is pretended that he has borrow'd largely from Masenius, a German Jesuit, and other modern authors; but it is all a pretence, he made use of all authors, such was his learning; but such is his genius, he is no copyer, his poem is plainly an original, if ever there was one. His subject indeed of the fall of Man together with the principal episodes may be said to be as old as Scripture, but his manner of handling them is entirely new, with new illustrations and new beauties of his own; and he may as justly boast of the novelty of his poem, as any of the ancient poets bestow that recommendation upon their works; as Lucretius I. 925.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante
 Trita solo: &c.

and Virgil Georg. III. 3.

Cætera quæ vacuas tenuissent carmina mentes
 Omnia jam vulgata. -----

Primus ego in patriam &c.

292. --- Juvat ire jugis, quæ nulla priorum
 Castaliam molli divertitur orbita clivo.

[17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, &c.*] Invoking the Muse is commonly a matter of mere form, wherein the poets neither mean, nor desire to be thought to mean any thing seriously. But the Holy Ghost here invok'd is too solemn a name to be used insignificantly: and

Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss,
 And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark
 Illumin, what is low raise and support;
 That to the highth of this great argument
 I may assert eternal Providence,

25

And

and besides our author, in the beginning of his next work *Paradise Regain'd*, scruples not to say to the same divine person

----- Inspire,

As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute.

This address therefore is no mere formality. Yet some may think that he incurs a worse charge of enthusiasm, or even profaneness in vouching inspiration for his performance: but the Scriptures represent inspiration as of a much larger extent than is commonly apprehended, teaching that *every good gift*, in naturals as well as in morals, *descendeth from the great Father of lights*, Jam. I. 17. And an extraordinary skill even in mechanical arts is there ascribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghost. It is said of Bezaleel who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle, that *the Lord had filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, and to devise curious works, &c.* Exod. XXXV. 31. Heylin.

But I conceive that Milton intended something more than this, for I have been informed by those, who had opportunities of conversing with his widow, that she was wont to say that he did really look upon himself as inspir'd, and I think his works are not without a spirit

VOL. I.

of enthusiasm. In the beginning of his 2d book of *The Reason of Church government*, speaking of his design of writing a poem in the English language, he says, "It was not to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallow'd fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. p. 61. Edit. 1738.

19. *Instruct me, for Thou know'st;*
 Theocrit. Idyl. XXII. 116.

Εἰπε δὲα, σὺ γὰρ οἶδ'α.

21. *Dove-like satst brooding,*] Alluding to Gen. I. 2. *the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters*; for the word that we translate *moved* signifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and he says like a *dove* rather than any other bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove in Scripture, Luke III. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftner copied from them, than from our translation.

C

26. And

And justify the ways of God to Men.

Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell, say first what cause
Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,
Favor'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off 30
From their Creator, and transgress his will
For one restraint, lords of the world besides?
Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?
Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,
Stirr'd

26. *And justify the ways of God to Men.*] A verse, which Mr. Pope has thought fit to borrow with some little variation, in the beginning of his Essay on Man,

But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Mr. Pope's preferring the word *vindicate*, but Milton makes use of the word *justify*, as it is the Scripture word, *That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings*, Rom. III. 4. And *the ways of God to Men* are justified in the many argumentative discourses throughout the poem, and particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son.

27. *Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,*

Nor the deep tract of Hell, -----] The poets attribute a kind of omniscience to the Muse, and very rightly, as it enables them to speak of things which could not otherwise be supposed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, Iliad. II. 485.

Τῆς γὰρ θεῶν ἐστὶ παρῆς τε, ἰσὲς τε πάντα.

And Virgil Æn. VII. 645.

Et meministisenim, Divæ, et memorare potestis.

And the mention of *Heaven* and *Hell* is very proper in this place, as the scene of so great a part of the poem is laid sometimes in Hell, and sometimes in Heaven.

32. *For one restraint,*] For one thing that was restrain'd, every thing else being freely indulged to them, and only the tree of knowledge forbidden.

33. *Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt? Th' infernal Serpent;*] An imitation of Homer, Iliad. I. 8. where the question is ask'd, and the answer return'd much in the same manner.

Τὸς τ' ἀρ' σφωι θεῶν ἐρῶσι ζυγὸν μαχεῖσθαι;
ἀήττος ἢ Διὶ υἱῷ.

38. ----- *by whose aid aspiring*

To set himself in glory' above his peers,] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not, his aiming *above his peers*: he was *in place high above them* before, as the Doctor proves from V. 812.

Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd 35
 The mother of mankind, what time his pride
 Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his host
 Of rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in glory' above his peers,
 He trusted to have equal'd the most High, 40
 If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
 Against the throne and monarchy of God
 Rais'd impious war in Heav'n and battel proud
 With

V. 812. But tho' this be true, yet Milton may be right here; for the force of the words seems, not that Satan *aspir'd to set himself above his peers*, but that he *aspir'd to set himself in glory*, &c. that is in divine glory, in such glory as God and his Son were set in. Here was his crime: and this is what God charges him with in V. 725.

--- who intends to' erect his throne

Equal to ours, ---

And in VI. 88. Milton says that the rebel Angels hop'd

To win the mount of God, and on his throne
 To set the envier of his state, the proud
 Aspirer.

See also to the same purpose VII. 140. &c. From these passages it appears that there is no occasion for Dr. Bentley's alteration, which is this,

----- aspiring

To place and glory' above *the Son of God*.

Pearce.

Besides the other methods which Milton has employ'd to diversify and improve his num-

bers, he takes the same liberties as Shakespear and others of our old poets, and in imitation of the Greeks and Latins often cuts off the vowel at the end of a word, when the next word begins with a vowel; though he does not like the Greeks wholly drop the vowel, but still retains it in writing like the Latins. Another liberty, that he takes likewise for the greater improvement and variety of his versification, is pronouncing the same word sometimes as two syllables, and sometimes as only one syllable or two short ones. We have frequent instances in *spirit*, *ruin*, *riot*, *reason*, *highest*, and several other words. But then these excellencies in Milton's verse are attended with this inconvenience, that his numbers seem embarass'd to such readers, as know not, or know not readily, where such elision or abbreviation of vowels is to take place; and therefore for their sakes we shall take care throughout this edition to mark such vowels as are to be cut off, and such as are to be contracted and abbreviated, thus '.

With vain attempt. Him the almighty Power
 Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky, 45
 With hideous ruin and combustion, down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
 In adamantin chains and penal fire,
 Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.
 Nine times the space that measures day and night 50
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
 Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
 Confounded though immortal: But his doom
 Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain 55
 Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes,
 That

45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,*
 Hom. Iliad. I. 591.

Πιψε, ποδὶ τελαγών, ἀπο βήλῃς θεσπεσίοιο.

Hurl'd headlong downward from th' ethereal
 height. Pope.

46. *With hideous ruin and combustion,*] *Ruin*
 is deriv'd from *ruo*, and includes the idea of
 falling with violence and precipitation, and
combustion is more than *flaming* in the foregoing
 verse, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So
 that he was not only *hurl'd headlong flaming*, but
 he was *hurl'd headlong flaming with hideous*
ruin and combustion; and what occasion is there

then for reading with Dr. Bentley *confusion* in-
 stead of *combustion*?

48. *In adamantin chains*] Æschylus Pro-
 meth. 6.

Ἀδ' ἀμανίνας πειθήσιν.

50. *Nine times, &c.*] The nine days asto-
 nishment, in which the Angels lay intranced
 after their dreadful overthrow and fall from
 Heaven, before they could recover either the
 use of thought or speech, is a noble *circum-*
stance, and very finely imagined. The division
 of Hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground
 impregnate

That witness'd huge affliction and dismay
 Mix'd with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:
 At once, as far as Angels ken, he views
 The dismal situation waste and wild; 60
 A dungeon horrible on all sides round
 As one great furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
 No light, but rather darkness visible
 Serv'd only to discover sights of woe,
 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace 65
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all; but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd:

Such

impregnant with the same furious element, with that particular circumstance of the exclusion of *hope* from those infernal regions, are instances of the same great and fruitful invention. *Addison.*

63. *darkness visible*] Milton seems to have used these words to signify *gloom*: Absolute darkness is strictly speaking invisible; but where there is a gloom only, there there is so much light remaining as serves to show that there are objects, and yet that those objects cannot be distinctly seen: In this sense Milton seems to use the strong and bold expression, *darkness visible*. *Pearce.*

Seneca has a like expression, speaking of the Grotta of Paufilypo, Senec. Epist. LVII. Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant, non ut *per tenebras* videamus, sed ut *ipsas*. And, as Mons. Voltaire observes, Antonio de Solis, in his excellent History of Mexico hath ventur'd on the same thought, when speaking of the place wherein Montezuma was wont to consult his Deities; " 'Twas a large dark subterraneous vault, says he, where some dismal tapers afforded just light enough to see the obscurity." See his Essay on Epic Poetry, p. 44.

Such place eternal Justice had prepar'd 70
 For those rebellious, here their pris'on ordain'd
 In utter darkness, and their portion set
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
 As from the center thrice to th' utmost pole.
 O how unlike the place from whence they fell! 75
 There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
 With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
 He soon discerns, and welt'ring by his side

One

72. *In utter darkness,*] Dr. Bentley reads *outer* here and in many other places of this poem, because it is in Scripture, το σκοτος το εξωτερον: But my dictionaries tell me that *utter* and *outer* are both the same word, differently spell'd and pronounc'd. Milton, in the argument of this book, says *in a place of utter darkness*, and no where throughout the poem does the poet use *outer*. Pearce.

74. *As from the center thrice to th' utmost pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth (which is the center of the world according to Milton's system, IX. 103. and X. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here call'd the *utmost pole*. It is observable that Homer makes the seat of Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth,

Τοσσον ενερθ' αιδεω, οσον εραν' ες' απο γαιης.

Iliad. VIII. 16.

Virgil makes it *twice* as far,

----- Tum Tartarus ipse
 Bis patet in præceps tantum tenditque sub
 umbras,
 Quantus ad æthereum cœli suspectus Olympum.
 Æn. VI. 577.

And Milton *thrice* as far,

As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
 As from the center *thrice* to th' utmost pole:

As if these three great poets had stretched their utmost genius, and vied with each other, who should extend his idea of the depth of Hell farthest. But Milton's whole description of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it. And how cool and unaffected is the ταρταρον ηεροενλα, the σιδηραιαιτε πυλαι κ' χαλκεον σδ' of Homer, and the *lugentes campi*, the *ferrea turris*, and *horrisono stridentes cardine portæ* of Virgil, in comparison with this description by Milton, concluding with that artful contrast,

O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

81. Beël-

One next himself in pow'r, and next in crime,
 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd 80
 Beëlzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
 And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words
 Breaking the horrid silence thus began.

If thou bee'st he; but O how fall'n! how chang'd
 From him, who in the happy realms of light 85
 Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine
 Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,
 United

81. *Beëlzebub*] The lord of flies, an idol worshipped at Ecron, a city of the Philistines, 2 Kings I. 2. He is called *prince of the Devils*, Mat. XII. 24. therefore deservedly here made second to Satan himself. *Hume.*

82. *And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan,*] For the word *Satan* in Hebrew signifies an enemy: he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief enemy of God and Man.

84. *If thou bee'st he; &c.*] The thoughts in the first speech and description of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride envy and revenge, obstinacy despair and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first speech is a complication of all those passions, which discover themselves separately in several other of his speeches in the poem. *Addison.*

The change and confusion of these enemies of God is most artfully express'd in the abruptness of the beginning of this speech: If thou

art he, that Beëlzebub ---- He stops, and falls into a bitter reflection on their present condition, compared with that in which they lately were. He attempts again to open his mind; cannot proceed on what he intends to say, but returns to those sad thoughts; still doubting whether 'tis really his associate in the revolt, as now in misery and ruin; by that time he had expatiated on this (his heart was oppress'd with it) he is assured to whom he speaks, and goes on to declare his proud unrelenting mind.

Richardson.

84. --- *but O how fall'n! how chang'd From him,*] He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at the same time. Is. XIV. 12. *How art thou fallen, &c.* and Virgil's *Æn.* II. 274.

Hei mihi qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!

86. *Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine*

Myriads though bright!] Imitated from Homer, *Odyf.* VI. 110. where Diana excels all her nymphs

United thoughts and counfels, equal hope
 And hazard in the glorious enterprife,
 Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd 90
 In equal ru'in: into what pit thou seeft
 From what highth fall'n, fo much the ftronger prov'd
 He with his thunder: and till then who knew
 The force of thofe dire arms? yet not for thofe,
 Nor what the potent victor in his rage 95
 Can elfe inflict, do I repent or change,
 Though chang'd in outward luftre, that fix'd mind,
 And high difdain from fenfe of injur'd merit,
 That with the Mightieft rais'd me to contend,
 And to the fierce contention brought along 100

Innu-

nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful.

Παῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτη πέλεται, καλὰ δ' ἐπεὶ πασαι.

Bentley.

91. *In equal ruin:*] So it is in all the editions. *And equal ruin* is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows (and I believe every body muft allow) to be juft and proper; it being very eafy to miftake one of thefe words for the other; and other instances perhaps may occur in the courfe of this work. *Equal ruin* hath join'd now, as *equal hope* join'd before; fomewhat like that in Ovid's *Metamorphofis*, l. 351.

O foror, O conjux, O foemina fola fuperftes,
 Quam commune mihi genus, et patruelis origo,
 Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipfa pericula jungunt.

In equal ruin cannot answer to *in the glorious enterprife*, becaufe Milton places a comma after *enterprife*, and in conftruction it follows after *hazard*, and not after *join'd*.

93. *He with his thunder:*] There is an uncommon beauty in this expreffion. Satan difdains to utter the name of God, tho' he cannot but acknowledge his fuperiority. So again ver. 257.

----- all but lefs than he
 Whom thunder hath made greater.

105. --- what

Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,
 That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,
 His utmost pow'r with adverse pow'r oppos'd
 In dubious battel on the plains of Heaven,
 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
 All is not lost; th' unconquerable will, 106
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,
 And courage never to submit or yield,
 And what is else not to be overcome;
 That glory never shall his wrath or might 110
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
 With suppliant knee, and deify his power,
 Who from the terror of this arm so late

Doubted

105. ---- *What though the field be lost?*]

All is not lost; &c.] This passage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's speech to the infernal Spirits in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 15. but seems to be express'd from Fairfax his translation rather than from the original.

We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

109. *And what is else not to be overcome;*] Here should be no note of interrogation, but only a semi-colon. The words *And what is else not to be overcome* signify *Et si quid sit aliud quod superari nequeat*, and if there be any thing else (besides the particulars mention'd) which is not to be overcome. *Pearce.*

VOL. I.

110. *That glory, &c.*] *That* refers to what went before; his *unconquerable will and study of revenge*, his *immortal hate and courage never to submit or yield*, and *what besides is not to be overcome*; these Satan esteems his glory, and *that glory* he says God never should extort from him. And then begins a new sentence according to all the best editions, *To bow and sue for grace, &c.*---*that were low indeed, &c.* *that* still referring to what went before; and by observing this punctuation, this whole passage, which has perplex'd and confounded so many readers and writers, is render'd plain and easy to be understood.

D

116 --- *since*

Doubted his empire ; that were low indeed,
 That were an ignominy' and shame beneath 115
 This downfall ; since by fate the strength of Gods
 And this empyreal substance cannot fail,
 Since through experience of this great event
 In arms not worse, in foresight much advanc'd,
 We may with more successful hope resolve 120
 To wage by force or guile eternal war,
 Irreconcilable to our grand foe,
 Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
 Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven.

So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain, 125
 Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:
 And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer.

O

116. --- *since by fate, &c.*] For Satan supposes the Angels to subsist by fate and necessity, and he represents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery* substance, as the Scripture itself doth; *He maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* Psal. CIV. 4. Heb. i. 7. Satan disdains to submit, since the Angels (as he says) are necessarily immortal and cannot be destroy'd, and since too they are now improved in experience, and may hope to carry on the war more successfully, notwithstanding the present triumph of their adversary in Heaven.

125. *So spake th' apostate Angel, tho' in pain, Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:*] The sense of the last verse rises finely above that of the former: In the first verse it is only said, that he *spake though in pain*: In the last the poet expresses a great deal more; for Satan not only *spake* but he *vaunted aloud*, and yet at the same time he was not only *in pain*, but was *rack'd with deep despair*. Pearce.
 The poet had probably in view this passage of Virgil, *Æn.* I. 208.

Talia

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
 That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to war
 Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds 130
 Fearless, indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king,
 And put to proof his high supremacy,
 Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate;
 Too well I see and rue the dire event,
 That with sad overthrow and foul defeat 135
 Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host
 In horrible destruction laid thus low,
 As far as Gods and heav'nly essences
 Can perish: for the mind and spi'rit remains
 Invincible, and vigor soon returns, 140
 Though all our glory' extinct, and happy state
 Here

Talia voce refert; curisque ingentibus æger
 Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde do-
 lorem.

131. ---- *indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king,*] The reader should remark here the propriety of the word *perpetual*. *Beëlzebub* doth not say *eternal king*, for then he could not have boasted of *indangering* his kingdom: but he endeavors to detract as much as he can from God's everlasting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or

without interruption, as Ovid says *perpetuum carmen*, Met. I. 4.

---- *primaque ab origine mundi*
Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

What *Beëlzebub* means here is express'd more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

---- But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
 Consent or custom, &c.

D 2

150. --- *what-*

Here swallow'd up in endless misery.
 But what if he our conqu'ror (whom I now
 Of force believe almighty, since no less
 Than such could have o'er-pow'r'd such force as ours)
 Have left us this our spirit and strength entire 146
 Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
 That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
 Or do him mightier service as his thralls
 By right of war, whate'er his business be 150
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
 Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
 What can it then avail, though yet we feel
 Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being
 To undergo eternal punishment? 155
 Whereto with speedy words th' Arch-Fiend reply'd.

Fall'n

150. --- *whate'er his business be*] The business which God hath appointed for us to do. So in II. 70. *His torments* are the torments which he hath appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this poem. *Pearce.*

156. *Whereto* ---] To what he had said last, which had startled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *speedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than *επεα πλεπομένα* are always in Homer.

157. ---- *to be weak is miserable*
Doing or suffering:] Satan having in his speech boasted that the *strength of Gods could not fail*, ver. 116. and Beëlzebub having said, ver. 146. *if God has left us this our strength entire, to suffer pain strongly, or to do him mightier service as his thralls, what then can our strength avail us?* Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to *suffer* or to *work*, yet still it is some comfort to have our strength undiminish'd; for it is a *miserable* thing, (says he) *to be*

Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miserable
 Doing or suffering: but of this be sure,
 To do ought good never will be our task,
 But ever to do ill our sole delight, 160
 As being the contrary to his high will
 Whom we resist. If then his providence
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
 Our labor must be to pervert that end,
 And out of good still to find means of evil; 165
 Which ofttimes may succeed, so as perhaps
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
 His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim.
 But see the angry victor hath recall'd
 His ministers of vengeance and pursuit 170
 Back to the gates of Heav'n: the sulphurous hail
 Shot

be weak and without strength, whether we are doing or suffering. This is the sense of the place; and this is farther confirm'd by what Belial says in II. 199.

---- To *suffer* as to *do*
 Our *strength* is equal ---- *Pearce.*

159. *To do ought good never will be our task,*]
 Dr. Bentley would read it thus,

To do ought good *will never* be our task,
 as of a smoother and stronger accent: but I con-

ceive that Milton intended to vary the accent of *never* and *ever* in the next verse.

169. *But see the angry victor hath recall'd, &c.*]
 Dr. Bentley hath really made a very material objection to this and some other passages of the poem, wherein the good Angels are represented, as pursuing the rebel host with fire and thunderbolts down through Chaos even to the gates of Hell; as being contrary to the account, which the Angel Raphael gives to Adam in the 6th book. And it is certain that there the good

Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
 The fiery furge, that from the precipice
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
 Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage, 175
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
 To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.
 Let us not slip th' occasion, whether scorn,
 Or satiate fury yield it from our foe.
 Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild, 180
 The seat of desolation, void of light,
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames

Cast

good Angels are order'd to *stand still only and
 behold*, and the Messiah alone expels them out
 of Heaven, and after he has expelled them,
 and Hell has clos'd upon them, VI. 880.

Sole victor from th' expulsion of his foes
 Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
 To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
 Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
 With jubilee advanc'd.

These accounts are plainly contrary the one to
 the other: but the author doth not therefore
 contradict himself, nor is one part of his
 scheme inconsistent with another. For it should
 be considered, who are the persons that give
 these different accounts. In book the 6th the
 Angel Raphael is the speaker, and therefore
 his account may be depended upon as the ge-

nuin and exact truth of the matter. But in
 the other passages Satan himself or some of his
 Angels are the speakers; and they were too
 proud and obstinate ever to acknowledge the
 Messiah for their conqueror; as their rebellion
 was rais'd on his account, they would never
 own his superiority; they would rather ascribe
 their defeat to the whole host of Heaven than
 to *him alone*; or if they did indeed imagin
 their pursuers to be so many in number, their
 fears multiplied them, and it serves admirably
 to express how much they were terrified and
 confounded. In book the 6th, 830. the noise
 of his chariot is compar'd to the *sound of a nu-
 merous host*; and perhaps they might think that
 a numerous host were really pursuing. In one
 place indeed we have Chaos speaking thus,
 II. 996.

--- and

Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves,
 There rest, if any rest can harbour there, 185
 And re-assembling our afflicted Powers,
 Consult how we may henceforth most offend
 Our enemy, our own loss how repair,
 How overcome this dire calamity,
 What reinforcement we may gain from hope, 190
 If not what resolution from despair.

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate
 With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes

That

---- and Heav'n gates

Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
 Pursuing;

But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel Angels? See VI. 871.

Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
 And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
 Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
 Encumber'd him with ruin.

We must suppose him therefore to speak according to his own frightened and disturb'd imagination; he might conceive that so much

Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
 Confusion worse confounded

could not all be effected by a single hand: and what a sublime idea must it give us of the ter-

rors of the Messiah, that he alone should be as formidable as if the whole host of Heaven were pursuing! So that this seeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemish to the poem.

186. --- *our afflicted Powers,*] The word *afflicted* here is intended to be understood in the Latin sense, routed, ruin'd, utterly broken. *Richardson.*

191. *If not what resolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is return'd *If not*: a vicious syntax: but the poet gave it *If none.* Bentley.

193. *With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides Prone on the flood,*] Somewhat like those lines in Virgil of two monstrous serpents, *Æn.* II. 206.

Pectora

That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
 Prone on the flood, extended long and large 195
 Lay floting many a rood, in bulk as huge
 As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
 Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,
 Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
 By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast 200
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim th' ocean stream:

Him

Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta, jubæque
 Sanguinæ exuperant undas; pars cætera pontum
 Pone legit.

196. *Lay floting many a rood,*] A *rood* is the fourth part of an acre, so that the bulk of Satan is express'd by the same sort of measure, as that of one of the giants in Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 596.

Per tota novem cui jugera corpus
 Porrigitur.

198. *Titanian, or Earth-born,*
 Genus antiquum terræ, Titania pubes.

Æn. VI. 580.

199. *Briareos*] So Milton writes it, that it may be pronounced as *four* syllables; and not *Briareus*, which is pronounced as *three*.

Et centumgeminus Briareus.

Virg. *Æn.* VI. 287.

And Briareus with all his hundred hands.

Dryden.

199 --- or *Typhon, whom the den*
By ancient Tarsus held,] Typhon is the same with Typhoëus. That the den of Typhoëus

was in Cilicia, of which Tarsus was a celebrated city, we are told by Pindar and Pomponius Mela. I am much mistaken, if Milton did not make use of Farnaby's note on Ovid *Met.* V. 347. to which I refer the reader. He took *ancient Tarsus* perhaps from Nonnus:

Ταρσος αειδόμενη πρωτοπύλης

which is quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary. *Fortin.*

200. ----- *that sea-beast*

Leviathan,] The best critics seem now to be agreed, that the author of the book of Job by the *leviathan* meant the *crocodile*; and Milton describes it in the same manner partly as a *fish* and partly as a *beast*, and attributes *scales* to it: and yet by some things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale* (as was the general opinion) there being no crocodiles upon the coasts of Norway, and what follows being related of the whale, but never, as I have heard, of the crocodile.

202. *Created hugest, &c.*] This verse is found fault with as being too rough and absonous, but

Him haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam
 The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff
 Deeming some iland, oft, as sea-men tell, 205
 With fixed anchor in his skaly rind
 Moors by his side under the lee, while night
 Invests the sea, and wished morn delays:
 So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay
 Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence 210
 Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
 And

but that is not a fault but a beauty here, as it better expresses the hugeness and unwieldiness of the creature, and no doubt was design'd by the author.

203. *Him haply slumb'ring, &c.*] I have been inform'd that in the Orlando Furioso one of the heroes casts anchor in this manner, but cannot recollect the passage.

204. ----- *night-founder'd skiff*] Some little boat, whose pilot dares not proceed in his course for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken from a founder'd horse that can go no farther.

Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads *nigh-founder'd*; but the common reading is better, because if (as the Doctor says) foundering is sinking by a leaking in the ship, it would be of little use to the pilot to fix his anchor on an iland, the skiff would sink notwithstanding, if leaky. By *night-founder'd* Milton means overtaken by the night, and thence at a loss which way to sail. That the poet speaks of what befel the pilot by night, appears from ver. 207. *while night invests the sea.*

VOL. I.

Milton, in his poem call'd the Mask, uses the same phrase: the two brothers having lost their way in the wood, one of them says

---- for certain

Either someone, like us, *night-founder'd* here &c. Pearce.

205. --- *as sea-men tell,*] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in this manner. Hume.

207. *Moors by his side under the lee,*] Anchors by his side under wind. *Mooring* at sea is the laying out of anchors in a proper place for the secure riding of a ship. The *lee* or lee-shore is that on which the wind blows, so that to be *under the lee* of the shore is to be close under the weather-shore or under wind. See Chambers's Dict. An instance this among others of our author's affectation in the use of technical terms.

209. *So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,*] The length of this verse, consisting of so many monosyllables, and pronounc'd so slowly, is excellently adapted to the subject

E

And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought 215
 Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shown
 On Man by him seduc'd, but on himself
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd. 220
 Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
 His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
 Driv'n backward slope their pointing spires, and roll'd
 In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid vale.
 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight 225
 Aloft,

subject that it would describe. The tone is upon the first syllable in this line, *the Arch-Fiend lay*; whereas it was upon the last syllable of the word in ver. 156. *the Arch-Fiend reply'd*; a liberty that Milton sometimes takes to pronounce the same word with a different accent in different places. We shall mark such words as are to be pronounced with an accent different from the common use.

221. *Forthwith upright he rears, &c.*] The whole part of this great enemy of mankind is filled with such incidents as are very apt to

raise and terrify the reader's imagination. Of this nature is his being the first that awakens out of the general trance, with his posture on the burning lake, his rising from it, and the description of his shield and spear. To which we may add his call to the fallen Angels, that lay plung'd and stupified in the sea of fire.

He call'd so loud that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded. -----

But there is no single passage in the whole poem worked up to a greater sublimity, than that

Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air
 That felt unusual weight, 'till on dry land
 He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
 With solid, as the lake with liquid fire;
 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force 230
 Of subterranean wind transports a hill
 Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
 Of thund'ring Ætna, whose combustible
 And fuel'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
 Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds, 235
 And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
 With stench and smoke: Such resting found the sole
 Of unblest feet. Him follow'd his next mate,
 Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood

As

that wherein his person is described in those celebrated lines

---- He above the rest

In shape and gesture proudly eminent
 Stood like a tow'r, &c.

Addison.

229. --- *liquid fire*;] Virg. Ecl. VI. 33.

Et liquidi simul ignis.

231. *Of subterranean wind*] Dr. Pearce conjectures that it should be read *subterranean winds*, because it is said *aid the winds* afterwards, and the conjecture seems probable and ingenious:

the *fuel'd entrails*, *sublim'd with mineral fury*, *aid* and increase *the winds* which first blew up the fire.

232. *Pelorus*,] A promontory of Sicily, now Cape di Faro, about a mile and half from Italy, whence Virgil *angusta a sede Pelori*, Æn. III. 687. Hume.

238. *Of unblest feet*.] Dr. Bentley to make the accent smoother reads *Of feet unblest*; but Milton could have done the same thing, if he thought proper: On the contrary he chooses almost always to put the epithet before the sub-

As Gods, and by their own recover'd strength, 240
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,
Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat
That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
For that celestial light? Be' it so, since he 245
Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: farthest from him is best,
Whom reason hath equal'd, force hath made supreme
Above his equals. Farewel happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail 250

Infernal

stantive (excepting at the end of a verse) even tho' the verse be the rougher for it. A plain sign that he thought it poetical to do so.

Pearce.

246. *Sovran*] So Milton spells it after the Italian *Sovrano*. It is not easy to account for the formation of our word *Sovereign*.

247. ---*farthest from him is best*,] This is express'd from the Greek proverb *πορρω Διος τε υ' νεραυνς*, Far from Jupiter but far too from thunder. Bentley.

248. *Whom reason hath equal'd*,] *Reason* is to be pronounced here as one syllable, or two short ones, as it is likewise in VIII. 591. and IX. 559. See the note on ver. 39.

250. ---- *Hail horrors, hail &c.*] His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most

exalted and most depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes possession of his place of torments.

---- Hail horrors, hail &c.

And afterwards

---- Here at least

We shall be free; &c.

Amidst those impieties which this enraged Spirit utters in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only a *semblance of worth, not substance*. He is likewise with great art described as owning his adversary to be almighty. Whatever perverse interpretation he puts on the justice, mercy and other attributes

Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
 Receive thy new possessor; one who brings
 A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
 The mind is its own place, and in itself
 Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. 255
 What matter where, if I be still the same,
 And what I should be, all but less than he
 Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
 We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: 260
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choice

To

butes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses his omnipotence, that being the perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only consideration which could support his pride under the shame of his defeat. Nor must I omit that beautiful circumstance of his bursting out into tears, upon his survey of those innumerable Spirits whom he had involved in the same guilt and ruin with himself. *Addison.*

252. *Receive thy new possessor;*] This passage seems to be an improvement upon Sophocles, Ajax 395, where Ajax, before he kills himself, cries out much in the same manner,

Ἰὼ σκοτος, ἐμὸν φῶς, ἐρεμῶς
 ὦ φάενον ὡς ἐμοί,
 ἔλεος' ἔλεος' οἰκητορά,
 ἔλεος' με.

253. --- *by place or time.*] Milton is excellent in placing his words: invert them only, and say *by time or place*, and if the reader has any ear, he will perceive how much the alteration is for the worse. For the pause falling upon *place* in the first line *by time or place*, and again upon *place* in the next line *The mind is its own place*, would offend the ear, and therefore is artfully varied

A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
 The mind is its own place.

257. --- *all but*] I have heard it propos'd to read *albeit*, that is although; but prefer the common reading.

259. --- *th' Almighty hath not built*
Here for his envy,] This is not a place that God should envy us, or think it too good for us;

To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
 Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
 Th' associates and copartners of our loss, 265
 Lie thus astonish'd on th' oblivious pool,
 And call them not to share with us their part
 In this unhappy mansion, or once more
 With rallied arms to try what may be yet
 Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell? 270
 So Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub
 Thus answer'd. Leader of those armies bright,
 Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,
 If

us; and in this sense the word *envy* is used in several places of the poem, and particularly in IV. 517. VIII. 494. and IX. 770.

263. *Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*] It was a memorable saying of Julius Cæsar, that he had rather be the first man in a country-village than the second at Rome. The reader will observe how properly the saying is here applied and accommodated to the speaker. It is here made a sentiment worthy of Satan, and of him only;

--- nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,
 Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido.

Virg. Geor. I. 36.

Grotius hath ascribed the same sentiment to Sa-

tan in his *Adamus Exul*, a tragedy which our author seems to have imitated in some few places, and has translated the following lines; but how much better is the sense of the two last verses express'd in one by Milton!

---- Nam, me judice,
 Regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartaro;
 Alto præesse Tartaro siquidem juvat,
 Coelis quam in ipsis servi obire munia.

276. ---- on the perilous edge
 Of battel] Perhaps he had in mind Virgil,
 Æn. IX. 528.

Et mecum ingentes oras evolvite belli. *Jortin.*

It has been observ'd to me by a person of very fine

If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft 275
 In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
 Of battel when it rag'd, in all assaults
 Their surest signal, they will soon resume
 New courage and revive, though now they lie
 Groveling and prostrate on yon lake of fire, 280
 As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd,
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.

He scarce had ceas'd when the superior Fiend
 Was moving tow'ard the shore; his pond'rous shield,
 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round, 285
 Behind

fine taste, that Shakespear has an expression
 very like this in 2 Hen. IV. Act. I.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils, on an edge
 More likely to fall in, than to get o'er:

and something like it in 1 Hen. IV. Act. I.

I'll read you matter, deep and dangerous;
 As full of peril and adventurous spirit,
 As to o'erwalk a current, roaring loud,
 On the unstedfast footing of a spear.

Hot. If he fall in, good night, or sink or
 swim.

Or after all may not *the edge of battel* be ex-
 press'd from the Latin *acies*, which signifies
 both the edge of a weapon, and also an army

in battel array? The author himself would
 incline one to think so by his use of this meta-
 phor in another place, VI. 108.

On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd.

282. ----- *fall'n such a pernicious highth.*]
 Dr. Bentley reads *fall'n* from *such* prodigious
highth: but the epithet *pernicious* is much
 stronger, and as for the want of a præposition,
 that is common in this poem; for thus in
 I. 723.

Stood fix'd her stately highth,

And in II. 409.

----- ere he arrive
 The happy ile?

Pearce.
 287. --- *like*

Behind him cast ; the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
 Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
 At evening from the top of Fesolé,
 Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands, 290
 Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.
 His spear, to equal which the tallest pine
 Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand,
 He walk'd with to support uneasy steps 295
 Over

287. ---- *like the moon, whose orb &c.*] Homer compares the splendor of Achilles shield to the moon, *Iliad*. XIX. 373.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ σάκος μέγα τε, σίβαρον τε,
 εἶλετο, τὸ δ' ἀπ' ἀνέουθε σέλας γενετ', ἥν τε μῆνης:
 but the shield of Satan was large as the moon
 seen through a telescope, an instrument first
 applied to celestial observations by Galileo, a
 native of Tuscany, whom he means here by
the Tuscan artist, and afterwards mentions by
 name in V. 262. a testimony of his honor for
 so great a man, whom he had known and vi-
 sited in Italy, as himself informs us in his *Areo-
 pagitica*.

289. *Fesolé*,] Is a city in Tuscany; *Valdar-
 no*, or the valley of Arno, a valley there.

Richardson.

292. *His spear, to equal which the tallest pine &c.*
 He walk'd with his spear, in comparison of

which the tallest pine was but a wand. For
 when Homer *Odyss.* IX. 322. makes the club
 of Polyphemus as big as the mast of a ship

Ὅσσον δ' ἰσον νηὸς ----

and Virgil gives him a pine to walk with, *Æn.*
 III. 659.

Trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat.
 and Tasso arms Tancred and Argantes with two
 spears as big as masts, *Cant.* 6. St. 40.

Posero in resta, e dirizzaro in alto
 I duo guerrier le noderoſe antenne.

These sons of Mayors bore (instead of spears)
 Two knotty masts which none but they could lift.

Fairfax.

well might Milton assign a spear so much larger
 to so superior a being.

293. *Norwegian hills*] The hills of Norway,
 barren and rocky, but abounding in vast woods,
 from

Over the burning marle, not like those steps
 On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
 Smote on him fore besides, vaulted with fire;
 Nathless he so indur'd, till on the beach
 Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd 300
 His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd
 Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
 In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades
 High over-arch'd imbow'r; or scatter'd sedge
 Aflote, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd 305
 Hath

from whence are brought masts of the largest size. *Hume.*

294. *ammiral*] According to its German extraction *amiral* or *amirael*, says Hume; from the Italian *ammiraglio*, says Richardson more probably. Our author made choice of this, as thinking it of a better sound than *admiral*: and in Latin he writes *ammiralatus curia*, the court of admiralty.

299. *Nathless*] Nevertheless, of which it seems to be a contracted diminutive. *Hume.* This word is frequently used by Spenser, and the old poets.

302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] Virg. *Æn.* VI. 309.

Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo
 Lapsa cadunt folia.

Thick as the leaves in autumn strow the woods.
Dryden.

But Milton's comparison is by far the exactest;
 VOL. I.

for it not only expresses a multitude, but also the posture and situation of the Angels. Their lying confusedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely represented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And besides the propriety of the application, if we compare the similes themselves, Milton's is by far superior to the other, as it exhibits a real landskip. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 23.

303. *Vallombrosa*,] A famous valley in *Etruria* or *Tuscany*, so named of *Vallis* and *Umbra*, remarkable for the continual cool shades, which the vast number of trees that overspread it afford. *Hume.*

305. --- *when with fierce winds Orion arm'd &c.*] *Orion* is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather, *assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion*. Virg. *Æn.* I. 539. And the Red-Sea
 F
 abounds

Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
 Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
 While with perfidious hatred they pursued
 The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
 From the safe shore their floating carcases 310
 And broken chariot wheels: so thick bestrown
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,
 Under amazement of their hideous change.
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates, 315
 Warriors, the flow'r of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,
 If such astonishment as this can seize

Eternal

abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the *Sedgy Sea*. And he says *hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast* particularly, because the wind usually drives the sedge in great quantities towards the shore.

306. --- *whose waves o'erthrew*

Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,] Dr. Bentley throws out six lines here, as the Editor's, not Milton's: His chief reason is, That that single event of Moses's passing the Red-Sea has no relation to a constant quality of it, that in stormy weather it is strow'd with sedge. But it is very usual with Homer and Virgil (and therefore may be allow'd to Milton) in a comparison, after they have shown the resemblance, to go off from the main purpose and finish

with some other image, which was occasion'd by the comparison, but is itself very different from it. Milton has done thus in almost all his similitudes; and therefore what he does so frequently, cannot be allow'd to be an objection to the genuineness of this passage before us. As to Milton's making Pharoah to be *Busiris* (which is another of the Doctor's objections to the passage) there is authority enough for to justify a poet in doing so, tho' not an historian: It has been suppos'd by some, and therefore Milton might follow that opinion. *Chivalry* for *cavalry*, and *cavalry* (says Dr. Bentley) for *chariotry*, is twice wrong. But it is rather *twice right*: for *chivalry* (from the French *chevalerie*) signifies not only *knighthood*, but those who

Eternal Spi'rits; or have ye chos'n this place
 After the toil of battel to repose
 Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find 320
 To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
 To' adore the conqueror? who now beholds
 Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
 With scatter'd arms and ensigns, till anon 325
 His swift pursuers from Heav'n gates discern
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
 Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
 Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.

Awake,

who use horses in fight, both such as ride on
 horses and such as ride in chariots drawn by
 them: In the sense of riding and fighting on
 horseback this word *chivalry* is used in ver. 765.
 and in many places of Fairfax's Tasso, as in
 Cant. 5. St. 9. Cant. 8. St. 67. Cant. 20. St. 61.
 In the sense of riding and fighting in chariots
 drawn by horses, Milton uses the word *chi-
 valry* in Parad. Reg. III. ver. 343. compar'd
 with ver. 328. *Pearce.*

308. *perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after
 leave given to the Israelites to depart, follow'd
 after them like fugitives. *Hume.*

310. *From the safe shore their floating carcases &c.*]
 Much has been said of the long similitudes of
 Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they

fetch a compass as it were to draw in new
 images, besides those in which the direct point
 of likeness consists. I think they have been
 sufficiently justify'd in the general: but in this
 before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises
 a new similitude from the floating carcases of
 the Egyptians. *Heylin.*

328. --- *with linked thunderbolts*
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.] This
 alludes to the fate of Ajax Oileus,

*Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammæ
 Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto.*

Virg. Æn. I. 44, 45.

Who pleaseth to read the Devil's speech to his
 damned assembly in Tasso, Cant. 4. from Stanza
 9 to Stanza 18, will find our author has seen
 him, tho' borrow'd little of him. *Hume.*

F 2

338. *As*

Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n. 330

They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight 335

In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;

Yet to their general's voice they soon obey'd

Innumerable. As when the potent rod

Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,

Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud 340

Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,

That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung

Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:

So numberless were those bad Angels seen

Hovering

338. *As when the potent rod &c.*] See Exod. X. 13. *Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the Lord brought an east-wind upon the land, and the east-wind brought the locusts: and the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt---so that the land was darken'd.*

341. *warping*] Working themselves forward, a sea term. *Hume and Richardson.*

351. *A multitude, like which &c.*] This comparison doth not fall below the rest, as

some have imagin'd. They were *thick* as the *leaves*, and *numberless* as the *locusts*, but such a multitude the north never pour'd forth; and we may observe that the subject of this comparison rises very much above the others, *leaves* and *locusts*. *The populous north*, as the northern parts of the world are observed to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries: Sir William Temple calls it *the northern bive*. *Pour'd never*, a very proper word to express the

Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell 345
 'Twixt upper, nether, and furrounding fires;
 Till, as a signal giv'n, th' up-lifted spear
 Of their great Sultan waving to direct
 Their course, in even balance down they light
 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain; 350
 A multitude, like which the populous north
 Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
 Came like a deluge on the south, and spread
 Beneath Gibralter to the Lybian sands. 355
 Forthwith from every squadron and each band
 The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
 Their great commander; Godlike shapes and forms
 Excelling human, princely Dignities,

And

the inundations of these northern nations. *From her frozen loins*, it is the Scripture expression of children and descendents *coming out of the loins*, as Gen. XXXV. 11. *Kings shall come out of thy loins*; and these are call'd *frozen loins* only on account of the coldness of the climate. *To pass Rhene or the Danaw*, He might have said consistently with his verse *The Rhine or Danube*, but he chose the more uncommon names *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the Ger-

man, both which words are used too in Spenser. *When her barbarous sons &c.* They were truly *barbarous*; for besides exercising several cruelties they destroy'd all the monuments of learning and politeness wherever they came. They were the Goths, and Huns, and Vandals, who overrun all the southern provinces of Europe, and crossing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibralter* landed in Africa, and spread themselves as far as the sandy country of Libya.

Beneath

And Pow'rs that erst in Heaven sat on thrones ; 360
 Though of their names in heav'nly records now
 Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
 By their rebellion from the books of life.
 Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
 Got them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth, 365
 Through God's high sufferance for the trial of man,
 By falsities and lies the greatest part
 Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
 God their Creator, and th' invisible
 Glory of him that made them to transform 370

Oft

Beneath Gibraltar that is more southward, the north being uppermost in the globe.

363. --- *the books of life.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the book of life*, that being the Scripture expression. And Shakespear says likewise *blotted from the book of life*, Richard II. Act I.

My name be blotted from the *book* of life.
 But the author might write *books* in the plural as well as *records* just before; and the plural agrees better with the idea that he would give of the great number of Angels.

369. ---- *and th' invisible*
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute,] Alluding to Rom. I. 23. *And changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.*

372. *With gay religions full of pomp and gold,*
 By *religions* Milton means *religious rites*, as Cicero uses the word, when he joins *religiones et ceremonias*. De Legib. lib. 1. c. 15. and elsewhere. *Pearce.*

376. *Say, Muse, &c.*] The catalogue of evil Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rises in a great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtless in this place Homer's catalogue of ships, and Virgil's list of warriors in his view. *Addison.*

Dr. Bentley says that this is not the finest part of the poem: but I think it is, in the design and drawing, if not in the coloring; for the Paradise Lost being a religious epic, nothing

Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
 With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
 And Devils to adore for Deities:
 Then were they known to men by various names,
 And various idols through the Heathen world. 375
 Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
 Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery couch,
 At their great emperors call, as next in worth
 Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
 While the promiscuous croud stood yet aloof. 380
 The chief were those who from the pit of Hell

Roaming

thing could be more artful than thus deducing the original of superstition. This gives it a great advantage over the catalogues he has imitated, for Milton's becomes thereby a necessary part of the work, as the original of superstition, an essential part of a religious epic, could not have been shown without it. Had Virgil's or Homer's been omitted, their poems would not have suffered materially, because in their relations of the following actions we find the soldiers, who were before catalogued: but by no following history of superstition that Milton could have brought in, could we find out these Devils agency, it was therefore necessary he should inform us of the fact. *Warburton.*
Say, Muse, &c. Homer at the beginning of his catalogue invokes his Muse afresh in a very pompous manner. Virgil does the like, and

Milton follows both so far as to make a fresh invocation, though short; because he had already made a large and solemn address in this very book, at the beginning of his poem.

376. --- *their names then known,*] When they had got them new names. Milton finely consider'd that the names he was obliged to apply to these evil Angels carry a bad signification, and therefore could not be those they had in their state of innocence and glory; he has therefore said their former names are now lost, ras'd from amongst those of their old associates who retain their purity and happiness.

Richardson.

376. --- *who first, who last,*]

Quem telo primum, quem postremum &c.

Virg. Æn. XI. 664.

386. --- *thron'd*

Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix
 Their seats long after next the seat of God,
 Their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd
 Among the nations round, and durst abide 385
 Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, thron'd
 Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd
 Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
 Abominations; and with cursed things
 His holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd, 390
 And with their darkness durst affront his light.
 First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood

Of

386.

---- thron'd

Between the Cherubim ;] This relates to the ark being placed between the two golden Cherubim, 1 Kings VI. 23. 1 Kings VIII. 6 and 7. See also 2 Kings XIX. 15. *O Lord God of Israel which dwellest between the Cherubim.* Hezekiah's prayer. Hume.

387.

---- yea, often plac'd

Within his sanctuary itself their shrines, Abominations ;] This is complain'd of by the prophet Jeremiah VII. 30. *For the children of Judah have done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to pollute it.* And we read of Manasseh, 2 Kings XXI. 4 and 5. *that He built altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I put my name: And he built altars for all the host of Heaven, in the two courts of the house of the*

Lord. See also Ezek. VII. 20. and VIII. 5, 6.

392. *First Moloch, horrid king,]* First after Satan and Beëlzebub. The name *Moloch* signifies *king*, and he is call'd *horrid king*, because of the human sacrifices which were made to him. This idol is supposed by some to be the same as Saturn, to whom the Heathens sacrificed their children, and by others to be the Sun. It is said in Scripture that the children *passed through the fire to Moloch*, and our author employs the same expression, by which we must understand not that they always actually burnt their children in honor of this idol, but sometimes made them only leap over the flames, or pass nimbly between two fires, to purify them by that lustration, and consecrate them to this false deity. The Rabbins assure us that the idol *Moloch* was of brass, sitting on a throne of the same metal and wearing a royal

Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
 Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
 Their childrens cries unheard, that pass'd through fire
 To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite 396
 Worshipt in Rabba and her watry plain,
 In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
 Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
 Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart 400
 Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
 His temple right against the temple of God
 On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove

The

royal crown, having the head of a calf and his arms extended to receive the miserable victims which were to be consumed in the flames; and therefore is very properly stiled here *his grim idol*. He was the God of the *Ammonites*, and is called *the abomination of the children of Ammon*, 1 Kings XI. 7. and was worshipped in *Rabba*, the capital city of the Ammonites, which David conquer'd, and took from thence the crown of their God *Milcom* as some render the words 2 Sam. XII. 30. and this *Rabba* being called *the city of waters*, 2 Sam. XII. 27. it is here said *Rabba and her watry plain*: and likewise in *Argob and in Basan*, neighbouring countries to *Rabba* and subject to the *Ammonites*, as far as to the stream of utmost *Arnon*, which river was the boundary of their country on the south. *Solomon* built a temple to *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, 1 Kings XI. 7.

VOL. I.

therefore called *that opprobrious hill*; and high places and sacrifices were made to him in the *pleasant valley of Hinnom*, Jer. VII. 31. which lay south-east of Jerusalem, and was called likewise *Tophet* from the Hebrew *Toph* a drum, drums and such like noisy instruments being used to drown the cries of the miserable children who were offer'd to this idol, and *Gehenna* or the valley of *Hinnom* is in several places of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself made the name and type of *Hell*, by reason of the fire that was kept up there to *Moloch*, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human sacrifices. We might inlarge much more upon each of these idols, and produce a heap of learned authorities and quotations; but we endeavor to be as short as we can, and say no more than may serve as a sufficient commentary to explain and illustrate our author.

G

406. Next

The pleasant valley' of Hinnom, Tophet thence
 And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell. 405
 Next Chemos, th' obscene dread of Moab's sons,
 From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
 Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
 And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
 The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines, 410
 And Eleälé to th' Asphaltic pool.
 Peor his other name, when he entic'd
 Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile

To

406. *Next Chemos, &c.*] He is rightly mention'd next after *Moloch*, as their names are join'd together in Scripture 1 Kings XI. 7. and it was a natural transition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom and several learned men assert *Chemos* and *Baal Peor* to be only different names for the same idol, and suppose him to be the same with Priapus or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here *th' obscene dread of Moab's sons*, from *Aroar* a city upon the river Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, *to Nebo*, a city eastward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, *and the wild of southmost Abarim*, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the south; in *Hesebon* or *Heshbon*, *and Horonaim*, *Seon's realm*, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by Sihon king of the Amorites, Numb. XXI. 26. *beyond the flow'ry dale of Sibma*

clad with vines, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. XLVIII. 32. *O vine of Sibmah. I will weep for thee*, and *Eleälé* another city of the Moabites not far from Heshbon, *to th' Asphaltic pool* the Dead Sea so call'd from the *Asphaltus* or bitumen abounding in it; the river Jordan empties itself into it, and that river and this sea were the boundary of the Moabites to the west. It was this God under the name of *Baal Peor*, that the Israelites were induced to worship in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague twenty and four thousand, as we read in Numb. XXV. His high places were adjoining to those of *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, therefore called here *that hill of scandal* as before *that opprobrious hill*, for Solomon did build an high place for *Chemos* the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for *Moloch* the abomination of the children of Ammon, 1 Kings XI. 7. But
 good

To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
 Yet thence his lustful orgies he inlarg'd 415
 Ev'n to that hill of scandal, by the grove
 Of Moloch homicide, lust hard by hate ;
 Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.
 With these came they, who from the bord'ring flood
 Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts 420
 Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
 Of Baälim and Ashtaroth, those male,
 These feminine. For Spirits when they please

Can

good Josiah brake in pieces their images, and cut down their groves. See 2 Kings XXIII. 13, 14.

415. *orgies*] Wild frantic rites; generally by *orgies* are understood the feasts of Bacchus because they were such, but any other mad ceremonies may be so call'd, as here the lewd ones of Chemos or Peor. *Richardson.*

419. --- *from the bord'ring flood*

Of old Euphrates &c.] It is rightly called *old*, being mention'd by the oldest historian in the earliest accounts of time, Gen. II. 14. And it is likewise called *the bord'ring flood*, being the utmost limit or border eastward of the promis'd land, according to Gen. XV. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates:* and the Psalmist speaking of *the vine that was brought out of Egypt* says Psal. LXXX. 11. *she sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river*, that is from the Mediterranean to the river Euphrates: *to the brook that parts*

Egypt from Syrian ground, most probably the brook Besor mention'd in Scripture, near Rhinocolura, which city is assign'd sometimes to Syria and sometimes to Egypt.

422. *Baälim and Ashtaroth,*] These are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture; and there were many *Baälim* and many *Ashtaroth*; they were the general names of the Gods and Goddeses of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring countries. It is supposed that by them is meant the sun and the host of Heaven.

423. *For Spirits when they please &c.*] These notions about Spirits seem to have been borrow'd from Michael Psellus his dialogue about the operation of Demons, where a story is related of a Demon's appearing in the shape of a woman; and upon this a doubt is rais'd whether some Demons are males, and others females; and it is asserted that they can assume either sex, and take what shape and color they please,

Can either sex assume, or both ; so soft
 And uncompounded is their essence pure, 425
 Not ty'd or manacled with joint or limb,
 Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
 Like cumbrous flesh ; but in what shape they choose
 Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
 Can execute their aery purposes, 430
 And works of love or enmity fulfil.
 For those the race of Israel oft forsook
 Their living strength, and unfrequented left
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
 To bestial Gods ; for which their heads as low 435
 Bow'd

please, and contract or dilate themselves at pleasure, as they are of an aery nature. διο και εκας γε αυτων, ποτε σωμα προς ο αν αιροι- το σχημα μετατυπωσας, και χρωματ' ειν' ειδ' ε'ωρ' το τε σωματος εξανιχων περας, πο- τε μεν ως ανηρ εμφανιζεται, ποτε δε προς γυναικ' μεταβαλλει μορφην &c. See Μιχαηλς τε Ψελλς περι ενεργειας δαιμονων διαλογος. p. 70.--- 77. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. Such an extraordinary scholar was Milton, and such use he made of all sorts of authors.

437. *With these in troop &c.*] *Astoreth* or *Astarte* was the Goddess of the *Phœnicians*, and the moon was adored under this name. She is rightly said to *come in troop* with *Ashtaroth*, as she was one of them, the moon with the stars. Sometimes she is called *queen of Hea-*

ven, Jer. VII. 18. and XLIV. 17, 18. She is likewise called *the Goddess of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings XI. 5. *and the abomination of the Zidonians*, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as she was worshipped very much in *Zidon* or *Sidon*, a famous city of the *Phœnicians*, situated upon the Mediterranean. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevail'd upon by them to introduce the worship of this Goddess into Israel, 1 Kings XI. 5. and built her temple on the mount of Olives, which on account of this and other idols is called *the mountain of corruption*, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as here by the poet *th' offensive mountain*, and before *that opprobrious hill*, and *that bill of scandal*.

446. *Thammuz came next &c.*] The account of *Thammuz* is finely romantic, and suitable to

Bow'd down in battel, sunk before the spear
 Of despicable foes. With these in troop
 Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
 Astarte, queen of Heav'n, with crescent horns;
 To whose bright image nightly by the moon 440
 Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs,
 In Sion also not unfung, where stood
 Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
 By that uxorious king, whose heart though large,
 Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell 445
 To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,
 Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd

The

to what we read among the Ancients of the
 worship which was paid to that idol. The
 reader will pardon me, if I insert as a note on
 this beautiful passage, the account given us by
 the late ingenious Mr. Maundrel of this an-
 cient piece of worship, and probably the first
 occasion of such a superstition. "We came
 "to a fair large river --- doubtless the ancient
 "river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous
 "rites performed here in lamentation of
 "Adonis. We had the fortune to see what
 "may be supposed to be the occasion of that
 "opinion which Lucian relates, viz. that this
 "stream at certain seasons of the year, espe-
 "cially about the feast of Adonis, is of a
 "bloody color; which the Heathens looked
 "upon as proceeding from a kind of sym-

"pathy in the river for the death of Adonis,
 "who was kill'd by a wild boar in the moun-
 "tains, out of which this stream rises. Some-
 "thing like this we saw actually come to pass;
 "for the water was stain'd to a surprising red-
 "ness; and as we observed in traveling, had
 "discolor'd the sea a great way into a reddish
 "hue, occasion'd doubtless by a sort of mi-
 "nium or red earth, wash'd into the river by
 "the violence of the rain, and not by any
 "stain from Adonis's blood." Addison.

Thammuz was the God of the Syrians, the
 same with Adonis, who according to the tra-
 ditions died every year and reviv'd again. He
 was slain by a wild boar in mount *Lebanon*,
 from whence the river Adonis descends: and
 when this river began to be of a reddish hue,

The Syrian Damfels to lament his fate
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450
 Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
 Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
 Ezekiel saw, when by the vision led 455
 His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
 Of alienated Judah. Next came one

Who

as it did at a certain season of the year, this was their signal for celebrating their Adonia or feasts of Adonis, and the women made loud lamentations for him, supposing the river was discolored with his blood. The like idolatrous rites were transferred to Jerusalem, where Ezekiel saw the women lamenting *Tammuz*, Ezek. VIII. 13, 14. *He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz.* Dr. Pemberton in his Observations upon poetry quotes some of these verses upon *Thammuz* as distinguishably melodious; and they are observed to be not unlike those beautiful lines in Shakespear 1 Hen. IV. Act. III. and particularly in the sweetness of the numbers;

As sweet as ditties highly penn'd,

Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower,
 With ravishing division to her lute.

457.

---- Next came one

Who mourn'd in earnest, &c.] The lamentations for Adonis were without reason, but there was real occasion for *Dagon's* mourning, when the ark of God was taken by the Philistines, and being placed in the temple of *Dagon*, the next morning *behold Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold (upon the grunsel or groundfil edge, as Milton expresses it, on the edge of the footpost of his temple gate) only the stump of Dagon was left to him as we read 1 Sam. V. 4.* Learned men are by no means agreed in their accounts of this idol. Some derive the name from *Dagan* which signifies corn, as if he was the inventor of it; others

Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark
 Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
 In his own temple, on the grunsel edge, 460
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:
 Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man
 And downward fish: yet had his temple high
 Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
 Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon, 465
 And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
 Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful feat

Was

others from *Dag*, which signifies a fish, and represent him accordingly with the upper part of a man, and the lower part of a fish. Our author follows the latter opinion, which is that commonly receiv'd, and has besides the authority of the learned Selden. This *Dagon* is called in Scripture the God of the Philistines, and was worshipped in the five principal cities of the Philistines, mention'd 1 Sam. VI. 17. *Azotus* or *Ashdod* where he had a temple as we read in 1 Sam. V. *Gath*, and *Ascalon*, and *Accaron*, or *Ekron*, and *Gaza* where they had sacrifices and feastings in honor of him. Judg. XVI. *Gaza's frontier bounds*, says the poet, as it was the southern extremity of the promis'd land toward Egypt. It is mention'd by Moses as the southern point of the land of Canaan. Gen. X. 19.

467. *Him follow'd Rimmon, &c.*] *Rimmon* was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain

what he was, or why so call'd. We only know that he had a temple at *Damascus*, 2 Kings V. 18. the most celebrated city of Syria, *on the banks of Abbana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus*, as they are called 2 Kings V. 12. *A leper once he lost*, Naaman the Syrian who was cur'd of his leprosy by Elisha, and who for that reason resolv'd thenceforth to *offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord*, 2 Kings V. 17. *And gain'd a king*, *Abaz his sottish conqu'ror*, who with the assistance of the king of Assyria having taken Damascus, saw there an altar, and sent a pattern of it to Jerusalem to have another made by it, directly contrary to the command of God, who had appointed what kind of altar he would have (Exod. XXVII. 1, 2, &c.) and had order'd that no other should be made of any matter or figure whatsoever. Ahaz however upon his return remov'd the altar of the

Lord

Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
 Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
 He also' against the house of God was bold: 470
 A leper once he lost, and gain'd a king,
 Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror, whom he drew
 God's altar to disparage and displace
 For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
 His odious offerings, and adore the Gods 475
 Whom he had vanquish'd. After these appear'd
 A crew who under names of old renown,
 Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,

With

Lord from its place, and set up this new altar in its stead, *and offer'd thereon*, 2 Kings XVI. 10. &c. and thenceforth gave himself up to idolatry, and instead of the God of Israel *he sacrific'd unto the Gods of Damascus*, 2 Chron. XXVIII. 23. whom he had subdued.

478. *Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train*, &c.] *Osiris* and *Isis* were the principal deities of the Egyptians, by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and moon. *Orus* was the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, frequently confounded with *Apollo*: and these and the other Gods of the Egyptians were worshipped *in monstrous shapes*, bulls, cats, dogs, &c. and the reason alledged for this monstrous worship is deriv'd from the fabulous tradition, that when the giants invaded Heaven, the Gods were so affrighted that they fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves in the shapes of various

animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worshipped the creatures, whose shapes the Gods had assum'd. *Ovid. Met. V. 319. &c.* where is an account of their transformations: and therefore Milton here calls them

*Their wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
 Rather than human.*

482. --- *Nor did Israel'scape*

Th' infection, &c.] The Israelites by dwelling so long in Egypt were infected with the superstitions of the Egyptians, and in all probability made the golden calf, or ox (for so it is differently call'd, *Psal. CVI. 19, 20.*) in imitation of that which represented *Osiris*, and out of the golden earrings, which it is most likely they borrow'd of the Egyptians, *Exod. XII. 35. The calf in Oreb*, and so the Psalmist, *They*

With monstrous shapes and forceries abus'd
 Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek 480
 Their wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
 Rather than human. Nor did Israel 'scape
 Th' infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
 The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
 Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan, 485
 Likening his Maker to the grazed ox,
 Jehovah, who in one night when he pass'd
 From Egypt marching, equal'd with one stroke
 Both her first-born and all her bleating Gods.

Belial

They made a calf in Horeb, Pſal. CVI. 19. while Moſes was upon the mount with God. *And the rebel king*, Jeroboam made king by the Iſraelites who rebelled againſt Rehoboam, 1 Kings XII. *doubled that ſin* by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had converſed, who had a couple of oxen which they worſhipped, one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other Mnevis at Hierapolis the chief city of the lower Egypt: and he ſet them up *in Bethel and in Dan*, the two extremities of the kingdom of Iſrael, the former in the ſouth, the latter in the north. *Likening his Maker to the grazed ox*, alluding to Pſal. CVI. 20. *Thus they changed their glory into the ſimilitude of an ox that eateth graſs: Jehovah, who in one night when he paſs'd from Egypt marching*, for the children of Iſrael not

VOL. I.

only *paſs'd* from Egypt, but *march'd* in a warlike manner, and the Lord brought them out, the Lord went before them: *equal'd with one ſtroke both her firſt-born and all her bleating Gods*, for the Lord ſlew *all the firſt-born in the land of Egypt both man and beaſt, and upon their Gods alſo the Lord executed judgments*. Exod. XII. 12. Num. XXXIII. 4. and Milton means all their Gods in general, tho' he ſays *bleating Gods* in particular, borrowing the metaphor from ſheep, and uſing it for the cry of any ſort of beaſts. Dr. Bentley ſays indeed that the Egyptians did not worſhip ſheep, they only abſtain'd from eating them: but (as Dr. Pearce replies) was not Jupiter Ammon worſhipped under a ram, hence *corniger Ammon*? Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that the people of Sais and Thebes worſhipped ſheep; and R. Jarchi upon Gen. XLVI. 34. ſays that

H

a

Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd 490
 Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
 Vice for itself: to him no temple stood
 Or altar smok'd; yet who more oft than he
 In temples and at altars, when the priest
 Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who fill'd 495
 With lust and violence the house of God?
 In courts and palaces he also reigns
 And in luxurious cities, where the noise
 Of

a shepherd was therefore an abomination to the Egyptians, because the Egyptians worshipped sheep as Gods. We may farther add, that Onkelos, Jonathan, and several others are of the same opinion, and say that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. These authorities are sufficient to justify our poet for calling them *bleating Gods*; he might make use of that epithet as one of the most insignificant and contemptible, with the same air of disdain as Virgil says *Æn. VIII. 698.*

Omnigenumque deum monstra & latrator
 Anubis;

and so returns to his subject, and ends the passage as he began it, with the Gods of Egypt.

490. *Belial came last, &c.*] The characters of *Moloch* and *Belial* prepare the reader's mind for their respective speeches and behaviour in the second and sixth book. *Addison.* And

they are very properly made, one the first, and the other the last, in this catalogue, as they both make so great a figure afterwards in the poem. *Moloch* the first, as he was *the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven, II. 44.* and *Belial* the last, as he is represented as the most *timorous and slothful, II. 117.* It doth not appear that he was ever worshipped; but lewd profligate fellows, such as regard neither God nor Man, are called in Scripture *the children of Belial, Deut. XIII. 13.* So the sons of Eli are call'd *1 Sam. II. 12.* *Now the sons of Eli were sons of Belial, they knew not the Lord.* So the men of Gibeah, who abus'd the Levite's wife, *Judg. XIX. 22.* are called likewise *sons of Belial*; which are the particular instances here given by our author.

502. --- *flown with insolence and wine.*] I have heard a conjecture of some body proposing to read *blown* instead of *flown*, blown with insolence and wine, as there is in Virgil *inflatus Iaccho, Ecl. VI. 15.*

Inflatum hesternò venas, ut semper, Iaccho.

But

Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
 And injury and outrage: And when night 500
 Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
 Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
 Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
 In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
 Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape. 505
 These were the prime in order and in might;
 The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,
 Th' Ionian

But *flown* I conceive is a participle from the verb *fly*, and the meaning is that they were raised and highten'd with insolence and wine, insolence and wine made them *fly out* into these extravagances. Or as others think, it may be a participle from the verb *flow*, as *overflowed* is sometimes used for overflow'd.

504. --- *when the hospitable door*
Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape.] So Milton caus'd it to be printed in the second edition; the first ran thus,

---- *when hospitable doors*
Yielded their matrons to prevent worse rape.

And Milton did well in altering the passage: for it was not true of *Sodom*, that any *matron* was yielded there; the women *had not known man*, Gen. XIX. 8. and as they were only offer'd not accepted, it is not proper to say that they were *yielded*. But observe that Milton in the second edition changed *yielded* into *expos'd*, because in what was done at Gibeah, Judg. XIX. 25. the Levite's wife was not only *yield-*

ed, but put out of doors and *expos'd* to the men's lewdness. Why then does Dr. Bentley prefer Milton's first reading to his second, when he alter'd the passage to make it more agreeable to the Scriptural story? *Pearce.*

506. *These were the prime*] It is observed by Macrobius and others, in commendation of Homer's catalogue of ships and warriors, that he hath therein mention'd every body who doth, and no body who doth not afterwards make his appearance in the poem: whereas it is otherwise in Virgil; some have a place in the list, who are never heard of in the battels, and others make a figure in the battels, who are not taken notice of in the list. Neither hath Milton in this respect attain'd Homer's excellence and beauty; but then it should be consider'd what was his intent and purpose in this catalogue. It was not possible for him to exhibit as complete a catalogue of the fallen Angels, as Homer hath given us of the Grecian and Trojan commanders; and as it was not possible or indeed proper, so neither was it at

Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held
 Gods, yet confess'd later than Heav'n and Earth,
 Their boasted parents; Titan Heav'n's first-born, 510
 With his enormous brood, and birthright seisd
 By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove
 His own and Rhea's son like measure found;
 So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete
 And Ida known, thence on the snowy top 515
 Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
 Their highest Heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
 Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
 Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
 Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields, 520

And

all his intention. He propos'd only to mention the chief, and such who were known in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and had encroach'd upon the worship of the God of Israel: and what he propos'd he hath executed with wonderful learning and judgment. He hath enlarg'd very much upon each of these idols, as he drew most of his materials from Scripture: *The rest were long to tell*, the rest he slightly passes over, as our knowledge of them is deriv'd only from fabulous antiquity.

508. *Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held Gods, &c.*] *Javan*, the fourth son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, is supposed to have

settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about *Ionian*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendents were the *Ionians* and *Grecians*; and the principal of their Gods were Heaven and Earth; *Titan* was their eldest son, he was father of the giants, and his empire was seised by his younger brother *Saturn*, as Saturn's was by *Jupiter* son of Saturn and Rhea. These first were known in the island *Crete*, now Candia, in which is mount *Ida*, where Jupiter is said to have been born; thence passed over into Greece, and resided on mount *Olympus* in Thessaly, *the snowy top of cold Olympus*, as Homer calls it, *Ολυμπον ἀγαν-*

υῖον.

And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost iles.

All these and more came flocking; but with looks
Down cast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd
Obscure some glimpse of joy, to have found their chief
Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost 525
In loss itself; which on his count'nance cast
Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd
Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears. 530
Then strait commands that at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd
His mighty standard: that proud honor clam'd

Azazel

νῆσος, Iliad. I. 420. which mountain afterwards became the name of Heaven among their worshippers; *or on the Delphian cliff*, Parnassus, whereon was seated the city Delphi famous for the temple and oracle of Apollo; *or in Dodona*, a city and wood adjoining sacred to Jupiter; *and through all the bounds of Doric land*, that is of Greece, Doris being a part of Greece; *or fled over Adria*, the Adriatic, *to th' Hesperian fields*, to Italy; *and o'er the Celtic*, France and the other countries overrun by the Celtes, *roam'd the utmost iles*, Great Britain, Ireland, the Orkneys, Thule or Iceland, *Ultima Thule*, as it is call'd, the utmost boundary of the world.

Such explications are needless to those who are conversant with the classic authors; they are written for those who are not.

530. *Their fainting courage*,] In the first edition he gave it *Their fainted courage*, if that be not an error of the press.

532. *Of trumpets loud and clarions*] A clarion is a small shrill treble trumpet, a clarion quem edit sono. *Hume*. So Fairfax mentions and distinguishes them; Cant. I. St. 71.

When trumpets loud and clarions shrill were heard.

533. --- *that proud honor clam'd*
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;] *Azazel* is not

Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;
 Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurl'd 535
 Th' imperial ensign, which full high advanc'd
 Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
 With gems and golden lustre rich imblaz'd,
 Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while
 Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds: 540
 At which the universal host up sent
 A shout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
 Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
 All in a moment through the gloom were seen
 Ten thousand banners rise into the air 545
 With orient colors waving: with them rose

A

not the *scape-goat*, as it is commonly call'd, but signifies some Demon, as the learned Dr. Spencer hath abundantly proved in his dissertation *De hirco emissario*. He shows that this name is used for some Demon or Devil by several ancient authors Jewish and Christian, and derives it from two Hebrew words *Az* and *Azel* signifying *brave in retreating*, a proper appellation for the standard-bearer to the fall'n Angels. We see Milton gives *Azazel* a *right* to be standard-bearer on account of his stature; he had no notion of a dapper ensign who can hardly carry his colors.

535. *Who forthwith &c.*] There are several

other strokes in the first book wonderfully poetical, and instances of that sublime genius so peculiar to the author. Such is the description of Azazel's stature, and of the infernal standard which he unfurls; as also of that ghastly light, by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments: the shout of the whole host of fallen Angels when drawn up in battel array: the review which the leader makes of his infernal army: the flash of light which appear'd upon the drawing of their swords: the sudden production of the Pandemonium: and the artificial illuminations made in it. *Addison.*

543. *Frighted*

A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
 Appear'd, and ferried shields in thick array
 Of depth immeasurable: anon they move
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood 550
 Of flutes and soft recorders; such as rais'd
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battel, and instead of rage
 Deliberate valor breath'd, firm and unmov'd
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat; 555
 Nor wanting pow'r to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
 Breathing

543. *Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*]
Reign is used like the Latin *regnum* for king-
 dom: and so in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, B. 2.
 Cant. 7. St. 21.

That strait did lead to Pluto's grisly reign.

548. --- *ferried shields*] Lock'd one within
 another, link'd and clasp'd together, from the
 French *ferrer*, to lock, to shut close. *Hume*.

550. --- *to the Dorian mood &c.*] All ac-
 counts of the music of the Ancients are very
 uncertain and confus'd. There seem to have
 been three principal modes or measures among
 them, the *Lydian*, the *Phrygian*, and the *Do-*

rian. The *Lydian* was the most doleful, the
Phrygian the most sprightly, and the *Dorian*
 the most grave and majestic. And Milton in
 another part of his works uses *grave* and *Doric*
 almost as synonymous terms. "If we think
 "to regulate printing, thereby to rectify
 "manners, we must regulate all recreations
 "and pastimes, all that is delightful to man.
 "No music must be heard, no song be set or
 "sung, but what is *grave and Doric*." (See his
Speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.
 Vol. I. p. 149. Edit. 1738.) This therefore was
 the measure best adapted to the fall'n Angels at
 this juncture; and their instruments were *flutes*
 and

Breathing united force with fixed thought 560
 Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd
 Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now
 Advanc'd in view they stand, a horrid front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
 Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield, 565
 Awaiting what command their mighty chief
 Had to impose: He through the armed files
 Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
 The whole battalion views, their order due,
 Their visages and stature as of Gods, 570

Their

and *pipes* and *soft recorders*, for the same reason that Thucydides and other ancient historians assign for the Lacedemonians making use of these instruments, because they inspir'd them with a more cool and deliberate courage, whereas trumpets and other martial music incited and inflam'd them more to rage. See Aulus Gellius, Lib. I. cap. 11. and Thucyd. L. 5.

560. *Breathing united force with fixed thought*
Mov'd on in silence] Thus Homer makes the Grecians march on in silence breathing force, Iliad. III. 8.

Οἱ δ' ἀρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μέγα πνεύοντες Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἐν θυμῷ κ. τ. λ.

567. ---- *He through the armed files*
Darts his experienc'd eye, ---] Not unlike that in Shakespear, Anth. & Cleop. Act I.

---- those his goodly eyes
 That o'er the files and musters of the war
 Have glow'd like plated Mars.
 575. ---- *that small infantry*
Warr'd on by cranes ;] All the heroes and armies that ever were assembled were no more than pygmies in comparison with these Angels; though all the giant brood of Phlegra, a city of Macedonia, where the giants fought with the Gods, with th' heroic race were join'd that fought at Thebes, a city in Bœotia, famous for the war between the sons of Oedipus, celebrated by Statius in his Thebaid, and Ilium made still more famous by Homer's Iliad, where on each side the heroes were assisted by the Gods, therefore call'd *auxiliar Gods*; and what resounds even in fable or romance of Uther's son, king Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, whose exploits are

Their number last he sums. And now his heart
 Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength
 Glories: for never since created man,
 Met such imbodied force, as nam'd with these
 Could merit more than that small infantry 575
 Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
 Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
 Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what resounds
 In fable or romance of Uther's son 580
 Begirt with British and Armoric knights;

And

are romantically extoll'd by Geoffry of Monmouth, *begirt with British and Armoric knights*, for he was often in alliance with the king of Armorica, since called Bretagne, of the Britons who settled there; *and all who since jousted in Aspramont or Montalban*, romantic names of places mention'd in Orlando Furioso, the latter perhaps Montauban in France, *Damasco or Marocco*, Damascus or Morocco, but he calls them as they are call'd in romances, or *Trebisond*, a city of Cappadocia in the lesser Asia, all these places are famous in romances for joustings between the *baptiz'd and infidels*; or *whom Biserta*, formerly call'd Utica, *sent from Afric shore*, that is the Saracens who pass'd from Biserta in Africa to Spain, *when Charlemain with all his peerage fell by Fontarabbia*, Charlemain king of France and emperor of Germany

VOL. I.

about the year 800 undertook a war against the Saracens in Spain, and Mariana and the Spanish historians are Milton's authors for saying that he and his army were routed in this manner at Fontarabbia (which is a strong town in Biscay at the very entrance into Spain, and esteem'd the key of the kingdom): but Mezeray and the French writers give a quite different and more probable account of him, that he was at last victorious over his enemies and died in peace. And tho' we cannot agree with Dr. Bentley in rejecting some of these lines as spurious, yet it is much to be wish'd that our poet had not so far indulged his taste for romances, of which he professes himself to have been fond in his younger years, and had not been ostentatious of such reading, as perhaps had better never have been read.

I

589. --- be

And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,
 Jousted in Aspramont or Montalban,
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebifond,
 Or whom Biferta sent from Afric shore, 585
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd
 Their dread commander: he above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent 590
 Stood like a tow'r; his form had yet not lost
 All her original brightness, nor appear'd
 Less than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and th' excess
 Of glory' obscur'd: as when the sun new risen
 Looks through the horizontal misty air 595
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
 In

589. *he above the rest, &c.*] What a noble description is here of Satan's person! and how different from the common and ridiculous representations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Tasso hath so describ'd him, Cant. IV. The greatest masters in painting had not such sublime ideas as Milton, and among all their Devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body must allow who hath seen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the Devil by Raphael, and of the same

by Guido, and of the last judgment by Michael Angelo.

598. --- *and with fear of change*

Perplexes monarchs.] It is said that this noble poem was in danger of being suppress'd by the Licencer on account of this simile, as if it contain'd some latent treason in it: but it is saying little more than poets have said under the most absolute monarchies; as Virgil Georg. I. 464.

--- *Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus*

Sæpe

In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone
 Above them all th' Arch-Angel: but his face 600
 Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
 Signs of remorse and passion to behold 605
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
 (Far other once beheld in blifs) condemn'd
 For ever now to have their lot in pain,
 Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd
 Of Heav'n, and from eternal splendors flung 610
 For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,
 Their

Sæpe monet, fraudemque, et operta tumescere
 bella.

600.

---- his face

Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd,] Had cut into, had made trenches there, of the French *trencher* to cut. Shakespear uses the same word speaking of a scar, *It was this very sword intrench'd it*. All's well that ends well, Act II.

609. ---- amerc'd] This word is not used here in its proper law-sense, of mulct'd, fin'd, &c. but as Mr. Hume rightly observes has a

strange affinity with the Greek ἀμερῶ, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has used it much to our purpose.

Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἀμερσε, διδὼς δὲ ἠσάαν ἀοιδῆν.
 The Muse amerc'd him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of singing sweetly. Odyss. VIII. 64. And I very well remember to have read the word used in the same sense somewhere in Spenser, but cannot at present turn to the place.

611. --- yet faithful how they stood,] To see
 I 2 the

Their glory wither'd: as when Heaven's fire
 Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
 With singed top their stately growth though bare
 Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd 615
 To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
 From wing to wing, and half inclose him round
 With all his peers: attention held them mute.
 Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of scorn
 Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last 620
 Words interwove with sighs found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers
 Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife
 Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
 As this place testifies, and this dire change 625
 Hateful to utter: but what pow'r of mind

Fore-

the true construction of this we must go back
 to ver. 605 for the verb. The sense then is
 this, to *behold* the fellows of his crime, con-
 demned &c. yet how they stood faithful.

Richardson.

612. --- as when Heaven's fire

Had scath'd &c.] Hath hurt, hath damag'd;
 a word frequently used in Chaucer, Spenser,
 Shakespear, and our old writers. This is a
 very beautiful and close simile; it represents
 the majestic stature, and wither'd glory of the

Angels; and the last with great propriety,
 since their lustre was impair'd by thunder, as
 well as that of the trees in the simile: and be-
 sides, the blasted heath gives us some idea of
 that singed burning foil, on which the Angels
 were standing. Homer and Virgil frequently
 use comparisons from trees, to express the sta-
 ture or falling of a hero, but none of them
 are apply'd with such variety and propriety of
 circumstances as this of Milton. See *An Essay*
upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients, p. 24.

619. Thrice

Foreseeing or prefaging, from the depth
 Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
 How such united force of Gods, how such
 As stood like these, could ever know repulse? 630
 For who can yet believe, though after loss,
 That all these puissant legions, whose exile
 Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
 Self-rais'd, and repossess their native seat?
 For me be witness all the host of Heaven, 635
 If counsels different, or danger shunn'd
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
 Consent or custom, and his regal state 640
 Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
 Which

619. *Thrice he assay'd, and thrice ----- Tears
 burst forth*] He had Ovid in his thought,
 Metam. XI. 419.

Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit. Bentley.

Tears such as Angels weep, Like Homer's Ichor
 of the Gods which was different from the blood
 of mortals. This weeping of Satan on survey-
 ing his numerous host, and the thoughts of
 their wretched state, puts one in mind of the
 story of Xerxes weeping on seeing his vast

army, and reflecting that they were mortal, at
 the time that he was hast'ning them to their
 fate, and to the intended destruction of the
 greatest people in the world, to gratify his own
 vain glory.

623.

----- and that strife

Was not inglorious,] Ovid. Met. IX. 6.

----- nec tam

Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est.

633. *Hath emptied Heav'n,*] It is conceiv'd
 that a third part of the Angels fell with Satan,
 according

Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our own,
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 New war, provok'd; our better part remains 645
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
 What force effected not: that he no less
 At length from us may find, who overcomes
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
 Space may produce new worlds; whereof so rife 650
 There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long
 Intended to create, and therein plant
 A generation, whom his choice regard
 Should favor equal to the sons of Heaven:
 Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps 655

Our

according to Rev. XII. 4. *And his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and cast them to the earth*; and this opinion Milton hath express'd in several places, II. 692. V. 710. VI. 156: but Satan here talks big and magnifies their number, as if their *exile had emptied Heaven*.

642. *Which tempted our attempt,*] Words tho' well chosen and significative enough, yet of jingling and unpleasant sound, and like marriages between persons too near of kin, to be avoided. *Hume*. This kind of jingle was undoubtedly thought an elegance by Milton,

and many instances of it may be shown not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, tho' the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them.

647. --- *that he no less &c.*] Satan had own'd just before, ver. 642. that they had been deceiv'd by God's concealing his strength; He now says, He also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; He shall find our cunning such as that tho' we have been overpower'd, we are not more than half subdued. *Richardson*.

662. *understood*] Not express'd, not openly declar'd,

Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:
 For this infernal pit shall never hold
 Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor th'abyss
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
 Full counsel must mature: Peace is despair'd, 660
 For who can think submission? War then, War
 Open or understood must be resolv'd.

He spake: and to confirm his words, out-flew
 Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
 Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze 665
 Far round illumin'd Hell: highly they rag'd
 Against the High'est, and fierce with grasped arms
 Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
 Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

There

declar'd, and yet imply'd: as when we say that
 a substantive or verb is *understood* in a sentence.

Pearce.

667. ---- *with grasped arms*] The known
 custom of the Roman soldiers, when they ap-
 plauded a speech of their general, was to smite
 their shields with their swords. Bentley.

And the epithet *grasped* join'd to *arms* de-
 termines the expression to mean *swords* only,
 which were spoken of a little before, ver. 664.

Pearce.

669. *Hurling defiance toward the vault of
 Heaven.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the walls of*

Heaven, Heaven the habitation of God and
 Angels being never described as *vaulted*; and
 Dr. Pearce approves the emendation; and with-
 out doubt the *wall* or *walls* of Heaven is a
 common expression with our author. But may
 we not by *the vault of Heaven* understand *cœli
 convexa*, our visible Heaven, which is often
 described as vaulted, the sphere of the fixed
 stars above which God and Angels inhabit?
 Hurling defiance toward the *visible* Heaven is
 in effect [hurling defiance toward the *invisible*
 Heaven, the seat of God and Angels.

671. *Belch'd*]

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top 670
 Belch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
 Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
 That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
 The work of sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed
 A numerous brigad hasten'd: as when bands 675
 Of pioneers with spade and pickax arm'd
 Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
 Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,
 Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
 From Heav'n, for e'en in Heav'n his looks and thoughts
 Were

671. *Belch'd*] So Virgil, *Æn.* III. 576. says *eructans* of *Ætna*, from which, or from mount Vesuvius, or the like, our poet took the idea of this mountain.

673. *That in his womb*] A very great man was observing one day a little inaccuracy of expression in the poet's making this mountain a person and a male person, and at the same time attributing a *womb* to it: And perhaps it would have been better if he had written *its womb*; but *womb* is used in as large a sense as the Latin *uterus*, which Virgil applies to a stag, *Æn.* VII. 490.

Ille manum patiens, mensæque affuetus herili,
 but afterwards Ascanius wounds him, ver. 499.
Perque uterum sonitu, perque ilia venit arundo.
 Virgil makes use of the same word again in speaking of a wolf, *Æn.* XI. 809.

*Ac velut ille —
 Occiso pastore lupus —*

— *caudamque remulcens*
Subjecit pavitantem utero, sylvasque petivit.

674. *The work of sulphur.*] For metals are supposed to consist of two essential parts or principles; mercury, as the basis or metallic matter; and sulphur as the binder or cement, which fixes the fluid mercury into a coherent malleable mass. See Chambers's Dict. of Sulphur.

678. *Mammon*] This name is Syriac, and signifies riches. *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, says our Saviour, Mat. VI. 24. and bids us *make to ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness*, Luke XVI. 9. and ver. 11. *If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your trust the true?* Some look upon *Mammon* as the God of riches, and

Were always downward bent, admiring more 681
 The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,
 Than ought divine or holy else enjoy'd
 In vision beatific: by him first
 Men also, and by his suggestion taught, 685
 Ranfack'd the center, and with impious hands
 Rifled the bowels of their mother earth
 For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
 Open'd into the hill a spacious wound,
 And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire 690
 That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best

Deserve

and *Mammon* is accordingly made a person by our poet, and was so by Spenser before him, whose description of *Mammon* and his cave our poet seems to have had his eye upon in several places.

682. *The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,*] So Homer speaks of the pavement of Heaven, as if it was of gold, χρυσίον δαπέδον, Iliad. IV. 2. And so the heavenly Jerusalem is described by St. John, Rev. XXI. 21. *and the street of the city is pure gold.*

684. ---- by him first

Men also, and by his suggestion taught,] Dr. Bentley says, the poet assigns as *two* causes *him* and *his suggestion*, which are one and the same thing. This observation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a superstitious opinion, generally believed amongst the mi-

VOL. I.

ners: That there are a sort of Devils which converse much in minerals, where they are frequently seen to busy and employ themselves in all the operations of the workmen; they will dig, cleanse, melt, and separate the metals. See G. Agricola de Animantibus subterraneis. So that Milton poetically supposes *Mammon* and his clan to have taught the sons of earth by example and practical instruction, as well as precept and mental suggestion. Warburton.

687. *Rifled the bowels of their mother earth*]

--- Itum est in viscera terræ,

Quasque recondiderat, Stygiisque admoverat umbris,

Effodiuntur opes. Ov. Met. I. 138, &c. Hume.

688. *For treasures better hid.*] Hor. Od. III. III. 49.

Aurum irreperitum, et sic melius situm.

K

694. --- and

Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
 Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
 Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
 Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, 695
 And strength and art are easily out-done
 By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
 What in an age they with incessant toil
 And hands innumerable scarce perform.
 Nigh on the plain in many cells prepar'd, 700
 That underneath had veins of liquid fire
 Sluc'd from the lake, a second multitude

With

694. ---- *and the works of Memphian kings,*] He seems to allude particularly to the famous Pyramids of Egypt, which were near Memphis.

Barbara Pyramidum fileat miracula Memphis.
 Mart.

695. *Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,*
And strength and art &c.] This passage has been misunderstood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are not to be construed in the genitive case with *fame*, but in the nominative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus, *Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, and how their strength and art are easily outdone &c.*

669. *And hands innumerable*] There were 360000 men employ'd for near twenty years

upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1. and Pliny Lib. 36. cap. 12.

702. ---- *a second multitude*
With wondrous art founded the massy ore,] The first band dug the metal out of the mountain, *a second multitude on the plain hard by founded* or melted it; for *founded* it should be read as in the first edition, and not *found out* as it is in the subsequent ones; *founded* from *fundere*, to melt, to cast metal.

704. --- *and scumm'd the bullion dross:*] Dr. Bentley says that *bullion dross* is a strange blunder to pass thro' all editions: He supposes that the author gave it, *and scumm'd from bullion dross*. But I believe that the common reading may be defended. The word *bullion* does not signify *purify'd ore*, as the Doctor says; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the dross is taken off,

With wondrous art founded the massy ore,
 Severing each kind, and scumm'd the bullion dross:
 A third as soon had form'd within the ground 705
 A various mold, and from the boiling cells
 By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
 As in an organ from one blast of wind
 To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.
 Anon out of the earth a fabric huge 710
 Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
 Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
 Built like a temple, where pilasters round

Were

off, then it is purify'd ore. Agreeably to this Milton in his tract called *Of the Reformation of England*, says ----- *to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins*. And Milton makes *bullion* an adjective here, tho' commonly it is a substantive; just as in V. 140. we have *ocean brim*, and in III. 284. *virgin seed*. And so *bullion dross* may signify *the dross that came from the metal*, as Spenser expresses it, or the dross that swam on the surface of the boiling ore. The sense of the passage is this; They *founded* or melted the *ore* that was in the *mass*, by separating or *severing* each kind, that is, the sulphur, earth, &c. from the metal; and after that, they *scumm'd* the *dross* that floated on the top of the boiling ore. *Pearce*. *Bullion dross*, as one would say gold-dross or silver-dross, the dross which arose from the melted metal in refining it. *Richardson*.

708. *As in an Organ &c.*] This simile is as exact, as it is new. And we may observe, that our author frequently fetches his images from music more than any other English poet, as he was very fond of it, and was himself a performer upon the organ and other instruments.

711. *Rose like an exhalation,*] The sudden rising of Pandemonium is supposed, and with great probability, to be a hint taken from some of the moving scenes and machines invented for the stage by the famous Inigo Jones.

712. *Of dulcet symphonies*] This word is used likewise by Shakespear, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II.

Uttering such *dulcet* and harmonious breath.

713. ----- *where pilasters round &c.*] One of the greatest faults of Milton is his affectation of showing his learning and knowledge upon

Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
 With golden architrave; nor did there want 715
 Cornice or freeze, with bossy sculptures graven;
 The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
 Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
 Equal'd in all their glories, to inshrine
 Belus or Serapis their Gods, or seat 720
 Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
 In wealth and luxury. Th' ascending pile
 Stood fix'd her stately highth, and strait the doors
 Opening

every occasion. He could not so much as describe this structure without bringing in I know not how many terms of architecture, which it will be proper for the sake of many readers to explain. *Pilasters round*, pillars jutting out of the wall, *were set, and Doric pillars*, pillars of the Doric order; as their music was *to the Dorian mood*, ver. 550, so their architecture was of the Doric order; *overlaid with golden architrave*, that part of a column above the capital; *nor did there want cornice*, the uppermost member of the intablature of the column, *or freeze*, that part of the intablature of columns between the architrave and cornice, so denominated of the Latin *phrygio* an imbroiderer, because it is commonly adorn'd with sculptures in basso relievo, imitating imbroidery, and therefore the poet adds, *with bossy sculptures graven*; *the roof was fretted gold*, fret-work is fillets interwoven at parallel distances. This

kind of work has usually flowers in the spaces, and must glitter much especially by lamp-light, as Mr. Richardson observes.

717. *Not Babylon, &c.*] It must be confess'd there is some weight in Dr. Bentley's objection, that in this same narration the author had challeng'd Babylon and Memphis, ver. 694. Babylon the capital of Assyria, and Memphis of old Egypt; and now as quite forgetful he reiterates it, *Babylon and Alcairo*: and this latter the worse; because Alcairo is the modern name of Memphis, and not so fit to join with *Belus or Serapis*. But tho' these lines may possibly be faulty, yet that is not authority sufficient for an editor to reject them as spurious.

720. *Belus or Serapis*] *Belus* the son of Nimrod, second king of Babylon, and the first man worshipped for a God, by the Chaldæans stiled Bel, by the Phœnicians Baal. *Serapis* the same with Apis the God of the Egyptians.

Opening their brazen folds discover wide
 Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth 725
 And level pavement: from the arched roof
 Pendent by subtle magic many a row
 Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
 With Naphtha and Asphaltus yielded light
 As from a sky. The hasty multitude 730
 Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
 And some the architect: his hand was known
 In Heav'n by many a towred structure high,
 Where

tians. *Hume.* Dr. Bentley objects, that Sérapis has the accent upon the first syllable, whereas he quotes authorities to show that it should have it upon the second, as Martial,

Vincebat nec quæ turba Serápin amat,

and another from Callimachus. But there are other authorities, which may serve to justify Milton; for we read in Martianus Capella, *Te Serápin Nilus* &c. and in Prudentius *Isis enim et Serápis* &c. *Pearce.*

725. *Within,*] An adverb here and not a præposition: and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be join'd in construction with *her ample spaces*. So Virgil *Æn.* II. 483.

Apparet domus *intus*, et atria longa patefcunt.

726. ---- *from the arched roof* &c.] How much superior is this to that in Virgil *Æn.* I. 726.

--- dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
 Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.

From gilded roofs depending lamps display
 Nocturnal beams, that emulate the day.

Dryden.

728. --- *and blazing cressets fed*
With Naphtha and Asphaltus] A *cresset* is any great blazing light, as a beacon. *Naphtha* is of so unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the funbeams. *Asphaltus* or bitumen, another pitchy substance. *Richardson.* And the word *cresset* I find used likewise in Shakespear, 1 Hen. IV. Act III. Glendower speaks,

---- at my nativity
 The front of Heav'n was full of fiery shapes,
 Of burning cressets.

738. *Not*

Where ſcepter'd Angels held their reſidence,
 And ſat as princes, whom the ſúpreme King 735
 Exalted to ſuch pow'r, and gave to rule,
 Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.
 Nor was his name unheard or unador'd
 In ancient Greece; and in Aufonian land
 Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell 740
 From Heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
 Sheer o'er the cryſtal battlements; from morn
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,

A

738. *Nor was his name unheard &c.*] Dr. Bentley ſays, “ This is careleſſly expreſs'd. “ Why does he not tell his name in Greece, “ as well as his Latin name? and *Mulciber* “ was not ſo common a name as *Vulcan*.” I think it is very exactly expreſs'd. Milton is here ſpeaking of a Devil exerciſing the *founder's* art: and ſays he was not unknown in Greece and Italy. The poet has his choice of three names to tell us what they called him in the claffic world, *Hepheſtos*, *Vulcan*, and *Mulciber*, the laſt only of which deſigning the office of a *founder*, he has very judiciously choſen that. *Warburton*.

740. --- and how he fell
From Heav'n, &c.] Alluding to theſe lines in Homer's *Iliad*. I. 590.

Ηδ' η γαρ με και αλλοτ' αλεξεμεναι μεμαωτα,
 'Ριψε, ποδ' τεταγων, απο βηλες διεσπεισιοι.
 Παν δ' ημαρ φερομην, αμα δ' ηελιω καταδυλι

Καππεσον εν Δημνω' ολιγ' δ' ετι θυμ' ενθεν.
 Ενθα με Σινθιες ανδρες αφαρ κομισαντο πεισοντα.

Once in your cauſe I felt his matchleſs might,
 Hurl'd headlong downward, from th'ethereal
 height,
 Toſt all the day in rapid circles round;
 Nor till the ſun deſcended, touch'd the ground:
 Breathleſs I fell, in giddy motion loſt;
 The Sinthians rais'd me on the Lemnian coaſt.
 Pope.

It is worth obſerving how Milton lengthens out the time of *Vulcan's* fall. He not only ſays with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, *from morn to noon, from noon to evening*, and this a *ſummer's day*. There is a ſimilar paſſage in the *Odyssey*, where *Ulyſſes* deſcribes his ſleeping twenty four hours together, and to make the time ſeem the longer, divides it into ſeveral parts,

A summer's day ; and with the setting sun
 Dropt from the zenith like a falling star, 745
 On Lemnos th' Ægean ile : thus they relate,
 Erring ; for he with this rebellious rout
 Fell long before ; nor ought avail'd him now
 T' have built in Heav'n high tow'rs ; nor did he 'scape
 By all his engins, but was headlong sent 750
 With his industrious crew to build in Hell.

Mean while the winged heralds by command
 Of sovran pow'r, with awful ceremony

And

parts, and points them out distinctly to us,
 Odyss. VII. 288.

Εὐδὸν παννυχίῳ, καὶ ἐπ' ἡῶ, καὶ μεσσηνίῳ,
 Δυσέτο τ' ἡελίῳ, καὶ με γλυκύς ὕπνος ἀνέκεν.

746. *On Lemnos th' Ægean ile :*] Dr. Bentley reads, *On Lemnos thence his ile*, and calls it a scandalous fault, to write *Ægean* with a wrong accent for *Ægean*. But Milton in the same manner pronounces *Tbyéstean* for *Tbyestéan* in X. 688. and in *Paradise Regain'd*, IV. 238, we read in the first edition, which Dr. Bentley pronounces to be without faults,

Where on the *Ægean* shore a city stands.

And Fairfax led the way to this manner of pronouncing the word, or rather to this poetical liberty ; for in his translation of Tasso, C. I. St. 60. he says

O'er *Ægean* seas thro' many a Greekish hold ;
 and in C. 12. St. 63.

As Ægean seas &c.

Pearce.

748. ---- *nor ought avail'd him now &c.*] *Hom. Iliad. V. 53.*

Ἄλλ' ὅτε οἱ τότε γέχευε χερσὶν Ἀρτέμις ἰοχέαιρα,
 οὐδ' ἐκὼλιν.

Virg. Æn. XI. 843.

*Nec tibi desertæ in dumis coluisse Dianam
 Profuit.*

750. *By all his engins,*] An ingenious gentleman observes that this word in the old English was often used for devices, wit, contrivance ; so in the glossary to Chaucer and in the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I. the words *aut alio quovis modo, arte, vel ingenio*, are English'd in our statute books, or by any other craft or *engin*.

752. *the winged heralds*] He has given them wings not only as Angels, but to express their speed. *Hume.* *Herald* is spelt like the French *herault*, the Danish *herold*, and the Spanish

And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclame
 A solemn council forthwith to be held 755
 At Pandemonium, the high capital
 Of Satan and his peers: their summons call'd
 From every band and squared regiment
 By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
 With hundreds and with thousands trooping came 760
 Attended: all access was throng'd, the gates
 And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
 (Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
 Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair

Defy'd

Spanish *heraldo*, but Milton spells it *harald* after the Italian *araldo*.

763. *Though like a cover'd field,*] Cover'd here signifies inclos'd; *Champ clos*; the field for combat, the lists. The hall of Pandemonium, one room only is like a field for martial exercises on horseback. *Richardson*.

764. --- *and at the Soldan's chair &c.*] Milton frequently affects the use of uncommon words, when the common ones would suit the measure of the verse as well, believing I suppose that it added to the dignity of his language. So here he says *the Soldan's chair* instead of the *Sultan's chair*, and *Panim chivalry* instead of *Pagan chivalry*; as before he said *Rhene* or *the Danaw*, ver. 353. when he might have said *the Rhine* or *Danube*. Spenser likewise uses the words *Soldan* and *Panim*. See *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. C. 8. St. 26. and other places.

768. *As bees &c.*] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crouding to a swarm of bees, *Iliad*. II. 87.

ΗΥΤΕ εθνεα εσι μελισσων αδιναων,
 Περης εκ γλαφυρης αινεον ερχομενων,
 Βοτρυσον δε πεπονται επ' ανθισιν εαρηνοισιν,
 Αι μεν' ενθα αλις πεποτηται, αι δε τε ενθα.

Milton has very well express'd the force of *βοτρυσον* by *in clusters*, as Pope has done by *clust'ring*, tho' in the rest of his translation he has by no means equal'd the beauties of the original.

As from some rocky clift the shepherd fees
 Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,
 Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding
 swarms,
 With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms;
 Dusky

Defy'd the best of Panim chivalry 765
 To mortal combat, or career with lance)
 Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air
 Brush'd with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
 In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
 Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770
 In clusters; they among fresh dew and flowers
 Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,
 The suburb of their straw-built citadel,
 New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer
 Their state affairs. So thick the aery croud 775

Swarm'd

Dusky they spread, a close imbody'd croud,
 And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.
 There are such similes likewise in Virgil, *Æn.*
I. 430.
Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea rura
Exercet sub sole labor; cum gentis adultos
Educunt fœtus, &c.
 Such is their toil, and such their busy pains,
 As exercise the bees in flow'ry plains;
 When winter past, and summer scarce begun
 Invites them forth to labor in the sun:
 Some lead their youth abroad, &c. Dryden.
 And again, *Æn. VI. 707.*

Ac veluti in pratis, ubi apes æstate serena
Floribus insidunt variis &c.

But our poet carries the similitude farther than
 either of his great masters, and mentions the
 bees *conferring their state affairs*, as he is going

VOL. I.

to give an account of the consultations of the
 Devils.

769. *In spring time, when the sun with Taurus*
rides,]

Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus. Georg. I. 217. In April. Hume.
 Dr. Bentley reads *in Taurus rides*, and says,
 Does *Taurus* ride too, a constellation fix'd?
 Yes, or else Ovid is wrong throughout his
 whole *Fasti*, where he describes the rising and
 setting of the signs of the zodiac: See what
 he says of the rising of *Taurus*, V. 603. and
 our author in X. 663, speaking of the fix'd
 stars says, *Which of them rising with the sun or*
falling, &c. Pearce.

770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the*
hive] Virg. *Georg. IV. 21.*

--- *Cum prima novi ducent examina reges*
Vere suo, ludetque favis emissâ juvenus.

L

777. Behold

Swarm'd and were straiten'd; till the signal given,
 Behold a wonder! they but now who seem'd
 In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
 Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
 Throng numberless, like that pygmean race 780
 Beyond

777. *Behold a wonder! &c.*] The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by contractions or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the first book, which is what the French critics call *marvelous*, but at the same time *probable* by reason of the passage last mention'd. As soon as the infernal palace is finish'd, we are told the multitude and rabble of Spirits immediately shrunk themselves into a small compass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this capacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contract-ed their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions.

Addison.

Monsieur Voltaire is of a different opinion with regard to the contrivance of Pandemonium and the transformation of the Devils into dwarfs; and possibly more may concur with him than with Mr. Addison. I dare affirm, says he, that the contrivance of the Pandemonium would have been entirely disapproved of by critics like Boileau, Racine, &c. That seat built for the parliament of the Devils seems very preposterous; since Satan hath summon'd them altogether, and harangu'd them just be-

fore in an ample field. The council was necessary; but where it was to be held, 'twas very indifferent. --- But when afterwards the Devils turn dwarfs to fill their places in the house, as if it was impracticable to build a room large enough to contain them in their natural size; it is an idle story, which would match the most extravagant tales. And to crown all, Satan and the chief Lords preserving their own monstrous forms, while the rabble of the Devils shrink into pygmies, heightens the ridicule of the whole contrivance to an unexpressible degree. Methinks the true criterion for discerning what is really ridiculous in an epic poem, is to examin if the same thing would not fit exactly the mock-heroic. Then I dare say that nothing is so adapted to that ludicrous way of writing, as the metamorphosis is of the Devils into dwarfs. See his Essay on epic poetry, p. 113, 114.

780. ---- *like that pygmean race &c.*] There are also several noble similes and allusions in the first book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on with the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment, which is suitable to the nature

Beyond the Indian mount, or faery elves,
 Whose midnight revels by a forest side
 Or fountain some belated peasant sees,
 Or dreams he sees, while over-head the moon
 Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth

785

Wheels

nature of an heroic poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleased with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head, because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similes and little turns of wit, which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's comparisons in which they do not see any surprising points of likeness. Monsieur Perrault was a man of this vitiated relish, and for that very reason has endeavor'd to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls *comparaisons a longue queue, long-tail'd comparisons*. I shall conclude this paper on the first book of Milton with the answer, which Monsieur Boileau makes to Perrault on this occasion. "Comparisons, says he, in odes and

" epic poems, are not introduced only to illu-
 " strate and embellish the discourse, but to
 " amuse and relax the mind of the reader, by
 " frequently disengaging him from too pain-
 " ful an attention to the principal subject, and
 " by leading him into other agreeable images.
 " Homer, says he, excell'd in this particular,
 " whose comparisons abound with such images
 " of nature as are proper to relieve and diver-
 " sify his subjects. He continually instructs
 " the reader, and makes him take notice,
 " even in objects which are every day before
 " our eyes, of such circumstances as we should

" not otherwise have observed." To this he adds as a maxim universally acknowledged, "That it is not necessary in poetry for the points of the comparison to correspond with one another exactly, but that a general resemblance is sufficient, and that too much nicety in this particular favors of the rhetorical and epigrammatist." In short, if we look into the conduct of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, as the great fable is the soul of each poem, so to give their works an agreeable variety, their episodes are so many short fables, and their similes so many short episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their metaphors are so many short similes. If the reader considers the comparisons in the first book of Milton, of the sun in an eclipse, of the sleeping leviathan, of the bees swarming about their hive, of the faery dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great beauties that are in each of those passages. *Addison.*

783. ——— sees,

Or dreams he sees,] Virg. Æn. VI. 454.

Aut videt, aut vidisse putat ----

785. Sits arbitress,] Arbitress here signifies witness, spectatress. So Hor. Epod. V. 49.

O rebus meis

Non infideles arbitrae

Nox et Diana. Heylin.

785. --- and nearer to the earth] There is the same thought of the moon's stooping towards

L 2

the

Wheels her pale course, they on their mirth and dance
 Intent, with jocond music charm his ear;
 At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
 Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
 Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large, 790
 Though without number still amidst the hall
 Of that infernal court. But far within,
 And in their own dimensions like themselves,
 The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
 In close recess and secret conclave sat 795
 A thousand Demi-gods on golden seats,
 Frequent and full. After short silence then
 And summons read, the great consult began.

the earth, in the *Penferoso*, one of our author's juvenile poems,

The wandring moon
 Riding near her highest noon,
 Like one that had been led astray
 Through the Heav'n's wide pathless way;
 And oft, as if her head she bow'd,
 Stooping through a fleecy cloud.

Richardson.

790. *Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large, &c.*] Tho' numberless they had so contracted their dimensions, as to have room enough to be *Au large* (French) *A largo*

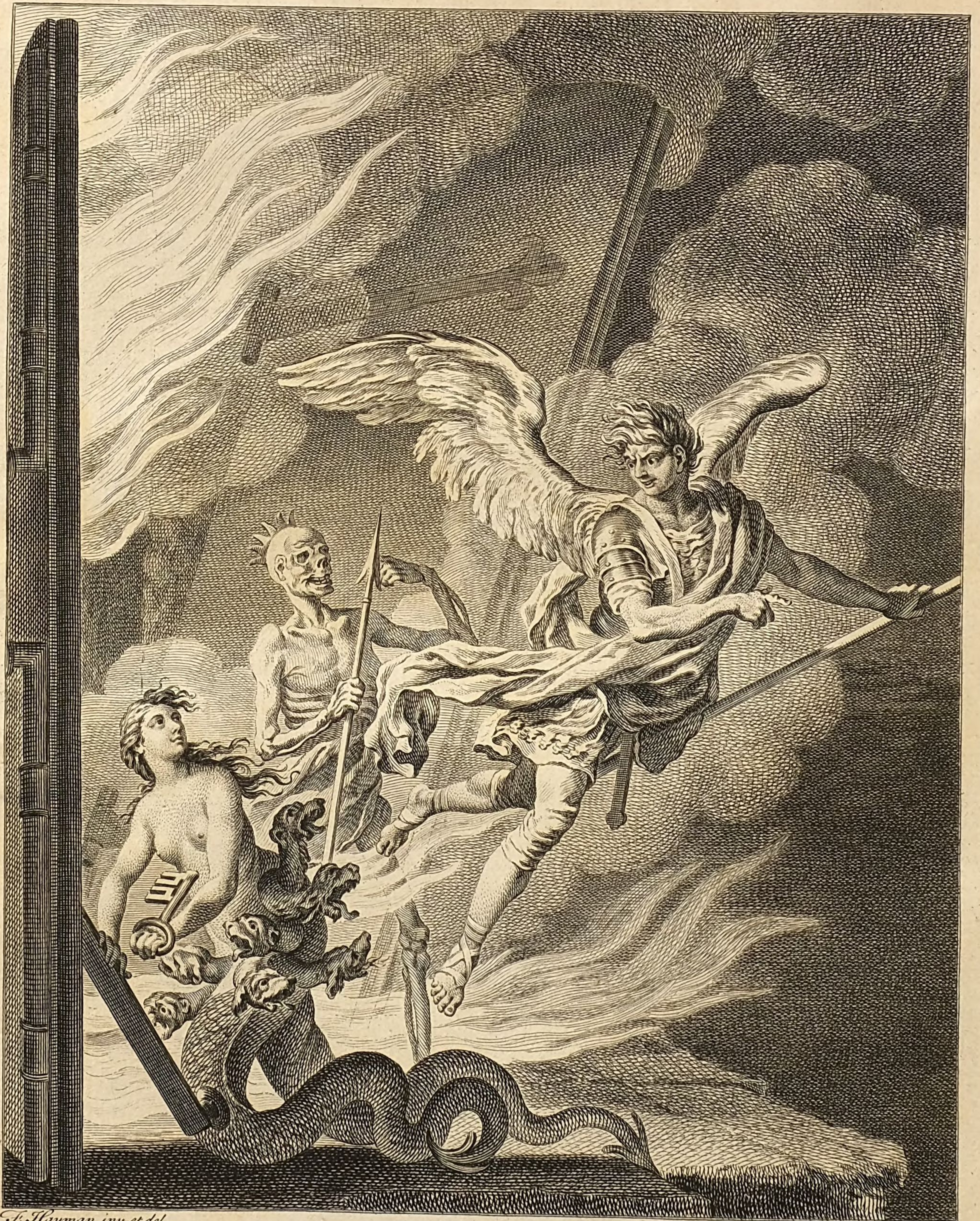
(Italian) and be yet in the hall. So XI. 626, *Ere long to swim at large.* Richardson.

795. *In close recess and secret conclave sat*] It is not improbable that the poet might allude here to what is strictly and properly call'd *the conclave*; for it is certain that he had not a much better opinion of the one than of the other of these assemblies.

797. *Frequent and full.*] So we have in Latin *frequens senatus*, a full house. And he makes use of the same expression in English prose, "The assembly was *full and frequent* according to summons." See his History of England in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The end of the First Book.





J. Flayman inv. et del.

C. Grignion sculp.

THE ARGUMENT
THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

T H E A R G U M E N T.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is preferr'd, mention'd before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created: Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honor'd and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to Hell gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them, by whom at length they are open'd, and discover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.

P A R A D I S E L O S T.

B O O K II.

HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far
 Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
 Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand

Show'rs

1. *High on a throne &c.*] I have before observed in general, that the persons, whom Milton introduces into his poem, always discover such sentiments and behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is with great justness and delicacy adapted to the persons who speak and act. As the poet very much excels in this consistency of his characters, I shall beg leave to consider several passages of the second book in this light. That superior greatness and mock-majesty, which is ascribed to the prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preserved in the beginning of this book. His opening and closing the debate; his taking on himself that great enterprise at the thought of which the whole infernal assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of Hell and appeared to him in all his terrors, are instances of that proud and daring mind, which could not brook submission even to omnipotence. The same boldness and intrepidity of behaviour discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those

tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it. *Addison.*

2. --- *the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,*] That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of *India* where they are found, and of the island *Ormuz* (in the Persian gulf) which is the mart for them. *Pearce.*

3. *Or where the gorgeous east &c.*] Not that *Ormuz* and *Ind* were in the west, but the sense is that the throne of Satan outshone diamonds, or pearl and gold, the choicest whereof are produced in the east. Spenser expresses the same thought thus, *Fairy Queen*, B. 3. C. 4. St. 23.

---- that it did pass
 The wealth of th' east, and pomp of Persian
 kings.

And the east is said to *show'r them with richest hand* by an excellent metaphor to express the great plenty and abundance of them, and to *show'r them on her kings*, because there the kings have the principal share of property; or this might be said, as Dr. Pearce conceives, in allusion to the custom us'd at the coronation of some kings in the east, of showing gold and precious stones upon their heads.

And

Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
 Satan exalted fat, by merit rais'd 5
 To that bad eminence; and from despair
 Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
 Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
 Vain war with Heav'n, and by success untaught
 His proud imaginations thus display'd. 10

Pow'rs and Dominions, Deities of Heaven,
 For since no deep within her gulf can hold
 Immortal vigor, though oppress'd and fall'n,
 I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent
 Celestial virtues rising, will appear 15
 More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
 And trust themselves to fear no second fate.
 Me though just right, and the fix'd laws of Heaven
 Did

And the same sort of metaphor is used in
 Shakespear, *Ant. & Cleop.* Act II.

I'll set thee in a show'r of gold, and hail
 Rich pearls upon thee.

And this pearl and gold is called *barbaric pearl
 and gold*, after the manner of the Greeks and
 Romans, who accounted all other nations bar-
 barous; as Virgil said, *Æn.* II. 504.

Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi.
 and *Æn.* VIII. 685.

*Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis
 Victor ab auroræ populis*

11. *Pow'rs and Dominions,*] As St. Paul calls
 the Angels, *Thrones or Dominions or Principa-
 lities or Powers*, Col. I. 16.

18. *Me though just right, &c.*] *Me* is rightly
 placed first in the sentence, being the empha-
 tical word and the accusative case govern'd by
 the two verbs which follow, *create* and *esta-
 blish'd*. *Me though just right, &c.* did first
 create

Did first create your leader, next free choice,
 With what besides, in counsel or in fight, 20
 Hath been achiev'd of merit, yet this loss
 Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more
 Establish'd in a safe unenvied throne
 Yielded with full consent. The happier state
 In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw 25
 Envy from each inferior; but who here
 Will envy whom the highest place exposes
 Foremost to stand against the Thund'rer's aim
 Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
 Of endless pain? where there is then no good 30
 For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
 From faction; for none sure will clame in Hell
 Precedence, none, whose portion is so small
 Of

create your leader, yet this loss hath much more establish'd in a safe unenvied throne.

21. --- *achiev'd*,] We spell it as we pronounce it *atchiev'd*; but Milton writes it *achiev'd*, like the French *achever*, from whence it is deriv'd.

24. --- *The happier state*
In Heav'n, which follows dignity, &c.] He means that the higher in dignity any being was in Heaven, the happier his state was; and that

therefore inferiors might there envy superiors, because they were happier too. *Pearce.*

33. --- *none, whose portion &c.*] Here seems to be some obscurity and difficulty in the syntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the passage thus:

--- for none sure will clame in Hell
 Precedence, none. Whose portion is so small
 Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
 He'll covet more?

M

40. --- *and*

Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
 Will covet more. With this advantage then 35
 To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
 More than can be in Heav'n, we now return
 To clame our just inheritance of old,
 Surer to prosper than prosperity
 Could have assur'd us; and by what best way, 40
 Whether of open war or covert guile,
 We now debate; who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, scepter'd king,
 Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
 That fought in Heav'n, now fiercer by despair: 45
 His

40. --- *and by what best way,*] Smoother and more emphatical thus,

---- *and by what way best.*

Bentley.

43. --- *next him Moloch,*] The part of *Moloch* is likewise in all its circumstances full of that fire and fury which distinguish this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels. He is describ'd in the first book, as besmeared with the blood of human sacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the second book he is marked out as the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven: and if we consider the figure which he makes in the sixth book, where the battel of Angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the

same furious enraged character. It may be worth while to observe, that Milton has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate passions, as the *first* that rises in that assembly, to give his opinion upon their present posture of affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his sentiments are rash, audacious and desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their tortures, and turning their punishments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character; as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of Heaven,

His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
 Equal in strength, and rather than be less
 Car'd not to be at all; with that care lost
 Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
 He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake. 50

My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
 More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
 Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
 For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
 Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait 55
 The signal to ascend, sit ling'ring here
 Heav'n's fugitives, and for their dwelling place

Accept

Heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable Spirit.

Addison.

43. ----- *scepter'd king,*] As Homer says
 Σκηπτειχος βασιλευς. Iliad. I. 279.

47. ----- *and rather than be less*
Car'd not to be at all;] Dr. Bentley reads
He rather than &c. because at present the construction is *and* his trust *car'd not* &c. But such small faults are not only to be pardon'd but overlook'd in great geniuses. Fabius VIII. 3. says of Cicero, In vitium sæpe incidit securus tam parvæ observationis: and in X. 1. Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia, quæ

magni auctores dixerint, esse perfecta; nam et labuntur aliquando, et oneri cedunt &c.

Pearce.

50. *He reck'd not,*] He made no account of. To *reck* much the same as to reckon. *And spake thereafter,* that is accordingly, as one who made no account of God or Hell or any thing.

56. --- *sit ling'ring here*] Dr. Bentley reads *stay ling'ring here*, because we have before *stand in arms*: but *stand* does not always signify the posture; see an instance of this in John I. 26. To *stand in arms* is no more than to *be in arms*. So in XI. 1. it is said of Adam and Eve that they *stood repentant*, that is were repentant; for a little before it is said that they *prostrate* fell.

Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
 The prison of his tyranny who reigns
 By our delay? no, let us rather choose, 60
 Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
 O'er Heav'n's high tow'rs to force resistless way,
 Turning our tortures into horrid arms
 Against the torturer; when to meet the noise
 Of his almighty engine he shall hear 65
 Infernal thunder, and for lightning see
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
 Among his Angels, and his throne itself
 Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur, and strange fire,
 His own invented torments. But perhaps 70
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale
 With upright wing against a higher foe.
 Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
 Of that forgetful lake benumm not still,

That

fell. That *fit* is right here, may appear from ver. 164, 420, 475. *Pearce.* *Sit ling'ring* to answer *fit contriving* before. While they sit contriving, shall the rest sit ling'ring?

69. *Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur,*] *Mix'd* signifies *fill'd with*; it is an imitation of what Virgil says in *Æn.* II. 487.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
Miscetur. *Pearce.*

89. *Must exercise us*] He uses the word like the Latin *exerceo*, which signifies to vex and trouble as well as to practice and employ: as in Virg. Georg. IV. 453.

Non te nullius exercent numinis iræ.

90. *The*

That in our proper motion we ascend 75
 Up to our native seat: descent and fall
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
 When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
 Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,
 With what compulsion and laborious flight 80
 We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easy then;
 Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
 To our destruction; if there be in Hell
 Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse 85
 Than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire
 Must exercise us without hope of end
 The vassals of his anger, when the scourge 90
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour

Calls

90. *The vassals of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vassals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, II. 252, *Our state of splendid vassalage*. And *the vassals of anger* is an expression confirm'd by Spenser in his *Tears of the Muses*,
 Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein,
 The *vassals* of God's *wrath*, and slaves of sin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, Rom. IX. 22. *The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*, Σκευη οργης, I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture stile, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vassals* or *vessels*. Bentley.

91. *Inexorably,*] In the first editions it is *Inexorably*,

Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus
 We should be quite abolish'd and expire.
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
 His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd, 95
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce
 To nothing this essential, happier far
 Than miserable to have eternal being:
 Or if our substance be indeed divine,
 And cannot cease to be, we are at worst 100
 On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
 Our pow'r sufficient to disturb his Heaven,
 And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
 Though

exorably, in others *Inexorable*: and it may be either, the scourge inexorable or inexorably calls.

92. *Calls us to penance?*] To punishment. Our poet here supposes the sufferings of the damned Spirits not to be always alike intense, but that they had some intermissions. *Hume.*

97. ---- *happier far*
Than miserable to have eternal being:] That it is better not to be than to be eternally miserable, our Saviour himself hath determin'd, Matth. XXVI. 24. Mark XIV. 21.

100. --- *we are at worst*] We are in the worst condition we can be.

104. --- *his fatal throne:*] That is *upheld by fate*, as he elsewhere expresses it, I. 133.

108. *To less than Gods.*] He gave it *To less than God*. For it was dangerous to the Angels. *Bentley.*

This emendation appears very probable at first view: but the Angels though often called *Gods*, yet sometimes are only compar'd or said to be *like the Gods*, as in I. 570.

Their visages and stature *as of Gods*:
 and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is said VI. 301, that

---- *likest Gods they seem'd*:
 and of two others we read VI. 366.
 Two potent Thrones, that to be *less than Gods*
 Disdain'd:
 and in another place a manifest distinction is made

Though inaccessible, his fatal throne:
Which if not victory is yet revenge.

105

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
Desperate revenge, and battel dangerous
To less than Gods. On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were low;

110

115

To

made between Gods and Angels who are called Demi-Gods, IX. 937.

But to be Gods, or Angel Demi-Gods: and therefore the present reading *To less than Gods* may be justify'd.

109. *Belial, in act more graceful and humane;*] *Belial* is described in the first book as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. He is in the second book, pursuant to that description, characterized as timorous and slothful; and if we look in the sixth book, we find him celebrated in the battel of Angels for nothing but that scoffing speech which he makes to Satan, on their supposed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform and of a piece in these three several views, we find his sentiments in the infernal assembly every way con-

formable to his character. Such are his apprehensions of a second battel, his horrors of annihilation, his preferring to be miserable rather than *not to be*. I need not observe, that the contrast of thought in this speech, and that which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to the debate. *Addison.*

113. *Dropt Manna,*] The same expression, but apply'd differently, in Shakespear. Merchant of Venice, Act V.

Fair ladies, you *drop Manna* in the way
Of starved people.

113. --- *and could make the worse appear
The better reason,*] Word for word, from the known profession of the ancient Sophists, Τον λογον τον ηττω κρειττω ποιειν. *Bentley.*

124. --- in

To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
 Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
 And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open war, O Peers,
 As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd 120
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success:
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,
 In what he counsels and in what excels 125
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
 And utter dissolution, as the scope
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
 First, what revenge? the tow'rs of Heav'n are fill'd
 With armed watch, that render all access 130
 Impregnable; oft on the bord'ring deep
 Incamp their legions, or with obscure wing
 Scout far and wide into the realm of night,

Scorning

124. --- *in fact of arms*,] Dr. Heylin says it is from the Italian *Fatto d'arme* a battel; or else we should read here *feats of arms*, as in ver. 537.

---- with *feats of arms*

From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
 Or possibly the author might have given it *in facts of arms*, such errors of the press being very common and easy.

138. --- *would*

Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise 135
 With blackest insurrection, to confound
 Heav'n's purest light, yet our great enemy
 All incorruptible would on his throne
 Sit unpolluted, and th' ethereal mold
 Incapable of stain would soon expel 140
 Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire
 Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
 Is flat despair: we must exasperate
 Th' almighty victor to spend all his rage,
 And that must end us, that must be our cure, 145
 To be no more; sad cure; for who would lose,
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
 To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost
 In the wide womb of uncreated night, 150
 Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,
 Let

138. --- *would on his throne*
Sit unpolluted,] 'Tis a reply to that part of
 Moloch's speech, where he had threaten'd to
 mix the throne itself of God with infernal sul-
 phur and strange fire.

VOL. I.

151. *Devoid of sense and motion?*] Dr. Bentley
 reads *Devoid of sense and action*: but *motion* in-
 cludes *action*. Mr. Warburton is of opinion,
 and so likewise is the learned Mr. Upton in
 his *Critical Observations upon Shakespear*, that
 N it

Let this be good, whether our angry foe
 Can give it, or will ever? how he can
 Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire, 155
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,
 To give his enemies their wish, and end
 Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
 To punish endless? Wherefore cease we then?
 Say they who counsel war, we are decreed, 160
 Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
 What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
 What when we fled amain, pursued and struck 165
With

it should be read *Devoid of sense and notion*: but the common reading seems better, as it is stronger and expresses more; they should be depriv'd not only of all *sense* but of all *motion*, not only of all the intellectual but of all vital functions.

156. — *impotence*,] 'Tis here meant for the opposit to wisdom, and is used frequently by the Latin authors to signify a weakness of mind, an unsteadiness in the government of our passions, or the conduct of our designs. In

this sense Cicero in Epist. ad Fam. IX. 9. says *Victoria ferociore impotentioresque reddidit.* and in Tusc. Disp. IV. 23. we read *Impotentia dictorum et factorum*: hence we often meet with *impotens animi, iræ, doloris &c.* and Horace in Od. I. XXXVII. 10. has *Quidlibet impotens sperare.* Pearce.

159. *Wherefore cease we then? &c.*] Belial is here proposing what is urged by those *who counsel war*; and then replies to it, *Is this then worst &c.* and shows that they had been in a worse

With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought
 The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
 Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.
 What if the breath that kindled those grim fires, 170
 Awak'd should blow them into sev'nfold rage,
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again
 His red right hand to plague us? what if all
 Her stores were open'd, and this firmament 175
 Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
 Designing or exhorting glorious war,

Caught

worse condition 165—169. *that sure was worse*; and might be so again 170—186. *this would be worse*.

170. *What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,*] If. XXX. 33. *For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.*

174. *His red right hand*] So Horace says of Jupiter *rubente dextera*. But being spoken of

Vengeance, it must be *her right hand*, as in the next line *her stores*. Bentley. There is something plausible and ingenious in this observation: but by *his* seems to have been meant God's, who is mention'd so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being nam'd; and by *her stores* in the next line, I suppose, are meant *Hell's*, as mention is made afterwards of *her cataracts of fire*.

Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd 180
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey
 Of wracking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
 Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd, 185
 Ages of hopeless end? this would be worse.
 War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
 My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
 Views all things at one view? he from Heav'n's highth
 All these our motions vain sees and derides; 191
 Not more almighty to resist our might
 Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven
 Thus trampled, thus expell'd to suffer here 195
 Chains and these torments? better these than worse
 By

180. *Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd*
Each on his rock transfix'd,] Borrow'd of Vir-
 gil in his description of the fate of Ajax Oileus,
 Æn. I. 44, 45.

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammæ
 Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto.
 Hume.

181. — *the sport and prey*
Of wracking whirlwinds,] Virg. Æn. VI. 75.
 — rapidis ludibria ventis.

190. — *he from Heav'n's highth*
All these our motions vain sees and derides;] Al-
 luding to Psal. II. 4. *He that sitteth in the Hea-
 vens*

By my advice ; since fate inevitable
 Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
 The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
 Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust 200
 That so ordains : this was at first resolv'd,
 If we were wise, against so great a foe
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
 I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
 And ventrous, if that fail them, shrink and fear 205
 What yet they know must follow, to endure
 Exile, or ignominy', or bonds, or pain,
 The sentence of their conqu'ror : this is now
 Our doom ; which if we can sustain and bear,
 Our supreme foe in time may much remit 210
 His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd
 Not mind us not offending, satisfy'd
 With what is punish'd ; whence these raging fires
 Will

vens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision. Nor let it pass unobserved that this is constantly Milton's way, and the true way of spelling *highth*, and not as commonly *height*, where what the *e* has to do or how it comes in it is not easy to apprehend.

199. *To suffer, as to do,*] Et facere, et pati. So Scævola boasted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer as to act. Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Liv. II. 12. So in Horace, Od. III. XXIV. 43. Quidvis et facere et pati.

220. *This*

Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
 Our purer essence then will overcome 215
 Their noxious vapor, or inur'd not feel,
 Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
 In temper and in nature, will receive
 Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light, 220
 Besides what hope the never-ending flight
 Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
 Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
 If we procure not to ourselves more woe. 225

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
 Counsel'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,
 Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.

Either

220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,*] 'Tis quite too much as Dr. Bentley says, that the darkness should turn into light: but *light*, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as *mild*; and the meaning is, This darkness will in time become easy, as this horror will grow mild. It is not well express'd, and the worse as it rhymes with the following line.

227. *Counsel'd ignoble ease,*] Not *otium cum dignitate* as Cicero speaks, but as Virgil *igno-*

bile otium. *Studiis ignobilis otii*. Georg. IV. 764.

228. *Mammon spake.*] *Mammon's* character is so fully drawn in the first book, that the poet adds nothing to it in the second. We were before told, that he was the first who taught mankind to ransack the earth for gold and silver, and that he was the architect of Pandemonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil Spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way suitable to so depraved

Either to disenthroned the king of Heaven
 We war, if war be best, or to regain 230
 Our own right lost: him to unthroned we then
 May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
 To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:
 The former vain to hope argues as vain
 The latter: for what place can be for us 235
 Within Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord supreme
 We overpow'r? Suppose he should relent,
 And publish grace to all, on promise made
 Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
 Stand in his presence humble, and receive 240
 Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
 With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
 Forc'd Halleluiah's; while he lordly sits

Our

depraved a character. How proper is that reflection, of their being unable to taste the happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his mind dazzled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the pavement, than on the beatific vision! I shall also leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following sentiments are to the same character,

— This deep world
 Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst, &c.
Addison.

233. — *and Chaos judge the strife:*] Between the king of Heaven and us, not between *Fate* and *Chance*, as Dr. Bentley supposes.
Pearce.

234. *The former vain to hope*] That is to unthroned the king of Heaven, *argues as vain the latter*, that is to regain our own lost right.

245. — *and*

Our envied sovran, and his altar breathes
 Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers, 245
 Our servile offerings? This must be our task
 In Heav'n, this our delight; how wearisome
 Eternity so spent in worship paid
 To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue
 By force impossible, by leave obtain'd 250
 Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state
 Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek
 Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
 Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
 Free, and to none accountable, preferring 255
 Hard liberty before the easy yoke
 Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
 Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse
 We

244. — *and his altar breathes
 Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers,]*
 Dr. Bentley would read *from* for *and*,
 Ambrosial odors *from* ambrosial flowers,

and asks how an *altar* can *breathe flowers*, especially when flowers are, as here, distinguish'd from *odors*? But when the *altar* is said to *breathe*, the meaning is that *it smells of*, it

throws out the smell of, or (as Milton expresses it IV. 265.) it *breathes out the smell of* &c. In this sense of the word *breathe*, an *altar* may be said to *breathe flowers*, and *odors* too as a distinct thing; for by *odors* here Milton means the smells of gums and sweet spicy shrubs, see VIII. 517. Not unlike is what we read in Fairfax's Tasso, C. 18. St. 20.

Flowers and odors sweetly smell'd. Pearce.

254. Live

We can create, and in what place so e'er 260
 Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
 Through labor and indurance. This deep world
 Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
 Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling fire
 Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd, 265
 And with the majesty of darkness round
 Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
 Must'ring their rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
 As he our darkness, cannot we his light
 Imitate when we please? This desert soil 270
 Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
 Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
 Magnificence; and what can Heav'n show more?
 Our torments also may in length of time
 Become our elements, these piercing fires 275
 As

254. *Live to ourselves,*] Hor. Epist. I. XVIII. 107.

— Ut mihi vivam

Quod superest ævi.

and Persius, Sat. IV. 52.

Tecum habita.

263.

— How oft amidst

Thick clouds and dark &c.] Imitated from
VOL. I.

Psal. XVIII. 11, 13. *He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies — The Lord also thundred in the Heavens, and the Highest gave his voice, hailstones and coals of fire.* And from Psal. XCVII. 2. *Clouds and darkness are round about him, &c.*

274. *Our torments also may in length of time Become our elements, &c.*] Enforcing the same
O argument

As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
 Into their temper; which must needs remove
 The sensible of pain. All things invite
 To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
 Of order, how in safety best we may 280
 Compose our present evils, with regard
 Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
 All thoughts of war: ye have what I advise.

He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur fill'd
 Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain 285

The

argument that Belial had urged before, ver. 217; and indeed Mammon's whole speech is to the same purpose as Belial's; the argument is improved and carried farther, only with such difference as is suitable to their different characters.

278. *The sensible of pain.*] The sense of pain. To sensible, the adjective used for a substantive. *Hume.*

279. *To peaceful counsels,*] There are some things wonderfully fine in these speeches of the infernal Spirits, and in the different arguments so suited to their different characters: but they have wander'd from the point in debate, as is too common in other assemblies. Satan had declar'd in I. 660.

— Peace is despair'd,

For who can think submission? War then, war
 Open or understood must be resolv'd.

Which was approv'd and confirm'd by the

whole host of Angels. And accordingly at the opening of the council he proposes for the subject of their consideration, which way they would make choice of, II. 41.

Whether of open war or covert guile,
 We now debate:

Moloch speaks to the purpose, and declares for open war, ver. 51.

My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
 More unexpert, I boast not, &c.

But Belial argues alike against war open or conceal'd, ver. 187.

War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
 My voice dissuades; for what can force or
 guile &c.

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and is for *dismissing quite all thoughts of war*. So that the question is changed in the course of the

The found of blust'ring winds, which all night long
 Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
 Sea-faring men o'erwatch'd, whose bark by chance
 Or pinnacle anchors in a craggy bay
 After the tempest: Such applause was heard 290
 As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,
 Advising peace: for such another field
 They dreaded worse than Hell: so much the fear
 Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
 Wrought still within them; and no less desire 295
 To

the debate, whether thro' the inattention or intention of the author it is not easy to say.

281. — *with regard*

Of what we are and where,] It is thus in the first edition: in the second edition it is, *with regard of what we are and were*: and it is varied sometimes the one and sometimes the other in the subsequent editions. If we read *with regard of what we are and were*, the sense is, with regard to our present and our past condition; If we read *with regard of what we are and where*, the sense is, with regard to our present condition and the place where we are; which latter seems much better.

285. — *as when hollow rocks retain &c.*] Virgil compares the assent given by the assembly of the Gods to Juno's speech, *Æn. X. 96.* to the rising wind, which our author assimilates to its decreasing murmurs,

— cunctique fremebant

Cælicolæ assensu vario: ceu flamina prima,

*Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et cæca volutant
 Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.*

Hume.

The conduct of both poets is equally just and proper. The intent of Juno's speech was to rouse and inflame the assembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly compared by Virgil to the *rising* wind: but the design of Mammon's speech is to quiet and compose the infernal assembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempest.

294. — *the sword of Michaël*] The words *Michael*, *Raphael*, &c. are sometimes pronounced as of two syllables, and sometimes they are made to consist of three. When they are to be pronounced as of three syllables, we shall take care to distinguish them in printing thus, *Michaël*, *Raphaël*.

To found this nether empire, which might rise
 By policy, and long procés of time,
 In emulation opposit to Heaven.
 Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom,
 Satan except, none higher sat, with grave 300
 Aspéct he rose, and in his rising seem'd
 A pill'ar of state; deep on his front ingraven
 Deliberation sat and public care;
 And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
 Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood 305
 With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear

The

302. *A pillar of state;*] *Pillar* is to be pronounced contractedly as of one syllable, or two short ones; and again in Book XII. 202, 203. The metaphor is plain and easy enough to be understood; and thus James, and Peter, and John are called *pillars* in Gal. II. 9. And we have the same expression in Shakespear, 2 Hen. VI. Act I.

Brave Peers of England, *pillars of the state*.

305. *Majestic though in ruin:*] It is amazing how even the greatest critics, such as Dr. Bentley, can sometimes mistake the most obvious passages. These words are to be join'd in construction with *his face*, and not with *princely counsel*, as the Doctor imagin'd.

306. *With Atlantean shoulders*] A metaphor to express his vast capacity. Atlas was so great

an astronomer, that he is said to have borne Heaven on his shoulders. The whole picture from ver. 299. to the end of the paragraph is admirable! *Richardson*.

309. *Or summer's noon-tide air,*] *Noon-tide* is the same as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat, retire to shade and rest. This is the custom of Italy particularly, where our author liv'd some time.

309. — *while thus he spake.*] *Beëlzebub*, who is reckon'd the second in dignity that fell, and is, in the first book, the second that awakens out of the trance, and confers with Satan upon the situation of their affairs, maintains his rank in the book now before us. There

The weight of mightiest monarchies ; his look
 Drew audience and attention still as night
 Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs, Ofspring of Heaven,
 Ethereal Virtues ; or these titles now 311

Must we renounce, and changing stile be call'd
 Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continue', and build up here
 A growing empire ; doubtless ; while we dream, 315
 And know not that the king of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat

Beyond

There is a wonderful majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of moderator between the two opposit parties, and proposes a third undertaking, which the whole assembly gives into. The motion he makes of detaching one of their body in search of a new world is grounded upon a project devised by Satan, and cursorily proposed by him in the following lines of the first book,

Space may produce new worlds, &c. ver. 650.
 It is on this project that *Beëlzebub* grounds his proposal

— What if we find

Some easier enterprise? &c.

The reader may observe how just it was not to omit in the first book the project upon which the whole poem turns : as also that the prince

of the fallen Angels was the only proper person to give it birth, and that the next to him in dignity was the fittest to second and support it. There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the reader's imagination in this ancient prophecy or report in Heaven, concerning the creation of Man. Nothing could show more the dignity of the species, than this tradition which ran of them before their existence. They are represented to have been the talk of Heaven, before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman commonwealth, makes the heroes of it appear in their state of præ-existence ; but Milton does a far greater honor to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpse of them even before they are in being.

Addison.

Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new league
 Banded against his throne, but to remain 320
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 His captive multitude: for he, be sure,
 In highth or depth, still first and last will reign
 Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part 325
 By our revolt, but over Hell extend
 His empire, and with iron scepter rule
 Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
 What fit we then projecting peace and war?
 War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss 330
 Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
 Vouchsaf'd or fought; for what peace will be given
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
 Inflicted? and what peace can we return, 335
 But

327. — *and with iron scepter rule*
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.]
 The iron scepter is in allusion to Psal. II. 9. as
 that of gold to Esther V. 2. Hume.
 329. *What fit we then projecting peace and war?]*

Dr. Bentley reads *peace or war*: Dr. Pearce
 says, perhaps better *peace in war*: But there
 seems to be no necessity for an alteration. It
 was a debate of peace and war. Peace as
 well as war was the subject of their debate.
 And

But to our pow'r hostility and hate,
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
 Yet ever plotting how the conqu'ror least
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
 In doing what we most in suffering feel? 340
 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
 With dangerous expedition to invade
 Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
 Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
 Some easier enterprise? There is a place, 345
 (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
 Err not) another world, the happy seat
 Of some new race call'd Man, about this time
 To be created like to us, though less
 In pow'r and excellence, but favor'd more 350
 Of him who rules above; so was his will
 Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
 That shook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.
 Thither

And *what* seems to be used here like the Latin *Quid*, which signifies both what and why.

332. *Vouchsaf'd*] Milton constantly writes this verb *voutsafe*; and this is rather of a softer

found, but the other seems more agreeable to the etymology of the word.

352. — and by an oath,
That shook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.] *He confirm'd it by an oath* are the

Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
 What creatures there inhabit, of what mold 355
 Or substance, how indued, and what their power,
 And where their weakness, how attempted best,
 By force or subtlety. Though Heav'n be shut,
 And Heav'n's high arbitrator sit secure
 In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd, 360
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left
 To their defense who hold it: here perhaps
 Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
 By sudden onset, either with Hell fire
 To waste his whole creation, or possess 365
 All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
 The puny habitants, or if not drive,

Seduce

the very words of St. Paul, Heb. VI. 17. and this oath is said to *shake Heav'n's whole circumference* in allusion to Jupiter's oath in Virgil, *Æn.* IX. 104.

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
 Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas
 Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.

To seal his sacred vow, by Styx he swore,
 The lake with liquid pitch, the dreary shore,
 And Phlegethon's innavigable flood,
 And the black regions of his brother God: }
 He said; and shook the skies with his impe- }
 rial nod. Dryden.

As Virgil had imitated Homer, *Iliad.* I. 528.

Η, και κυανησιν επ οφρυσιν νευσε Κρονιων
 Αμβροσια δ'αρα χαιται επερρωσαντο ανακτο
 Κρατ' απ' αθανατοιο· μεγαν δ' ελελιξεν
 Ολυμπον.

He spoke, and awful bends his sable brows;
 Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
 The stamp of fate, and sanction of the God;
 High Heav'n with trembling the dread signal
 took,

And all Olympus to the center shook. Pope.

All the three poets, we see, mention the shaking
 of

Seduce them to our party, that their God
 May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
 Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
 In our confusion, and our joy upraise
 In his disturbance; when his darling sons,
 Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
 Their frail original, and faded bliss, 375
 Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
 Hatching vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub
 Plead'd his devilish counsel, first devis'd
 By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence, 380
 But from the author of all ill, could spring
 So

of Heaven, only Milton attributes that effect to the *oath*, which Homer and Virgil ascribe to the *nod* of Jupiter: but the circumstance of the *nod* seems to be rightly omitted in this place, because God is not here giving his assent to any one's petition, which is the case in Homer and Virgil, but only pronouncing his will among the Angels.

362. — *here perhaps*] Dr. Bentley says that Milton must have given it *there perhaps*: but I think not: in ver. 360 it is *this place*, and therefore Milton gave it *here*, that is in the place which I am speaking of. Milton fre-

VOL. I.

quently uses *now* and *here*, not meaning a time or place *then* present to him or his speakers *when* they are speaking; but that time and that place, which he or they are speaking of.

Pearce.

367. *The puny habitants,*] It is possible that the author by *puny* might mean no more than weak or little; but yet if we reflect how frequently he uses words in their proper and primary signification, it seems probable that he might include likewise the sense of the French (from whence it is deriv'd) *puis né*, born since, created long after us.

P

406. — *the*

So deep a malice, to confound the race
 Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
 To mingle and involve, done all to spite
 The great Creator? But their spite still serves 385
 His glory to augment. The bold design
 Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy
 Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
 They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.

Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate, 390
 Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
 Great things resolv'd, which from the lowest deep
 Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
 Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view
 Of those bright confines, whence with neighb'ring [arms
 And opportune excursion we may chance 396
 Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some mild zone
 Dwell not unvisited of Heav'n's fair light

Secure,

406. — *the palpable obscure*] It is remarkable in our author's style, that he often uses adjectives as substantives, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vast abrupt*. And some-

times there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an adjective, as *the ocean stream*, I. 202. *the bullion drops*, I. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409. — *ere he arrive*

The happy ile?] The earth, hanging in the sea

Secure, and at the brightning orient beam
 Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious air, 400
 To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
 Shall breathe her balm. But first whom shall we send
 In search of this new world? whom shall we find
 Sufficient? who shall tempt with wand'ring feet
 The dark unbottom'd infinite abyfs, 405
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight
 Upborne with indefatigable wings
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
 The happy ile? what strength, what art can then 410
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick
 Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
 All circumspection, and we now no less
 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send, 415
 The

sea of air, like a happy, or *fortunate* island, as the name is. *Ere he arrive the happy ile*; so the word *arrive* is used by our author in the Preface to *the Judgment of Martin Bucer*, p. 276. Edit. 1738. "And he, if our things here
 "below *arrive him* where he is &c:" and again

in his *Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes*, p. 553, "Let him also forbear force---
 "lest a worse woe *arrive him*." And Shakespear expresses himself in the same manner 3 Hen. VI. Act. V. --- those powers, that the Queen
 Hath rais'd in Gallia, *have arriv'd our coast*.

The weight of all and our last hope relies.

This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd
To second, or oppose, or undertake
The perilous attempt: but all sat mute, 420
Pond'ring the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In others count'nance read his own dismay
Astonish'd: none among the choice and prime
Of those Heav'n-warring champions could be found
So hardy as to proffer or accept 425
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.

O

420. — *but all sat mute,*] Homer often uses words to the same effect, when an affair of difficulty is proposed, such as sending a spy into the Trojan camp, or a single combat with Hector. Iliad. VII. 92.

Ὡς ἐφάθ'· οἱ δ' ἀρα πάντες ἀκνὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ·
Αἰδέσθην μὲν ἀντιπαθεῖν, δέισαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.

429. — *unmov'd*] With any of those dangers which deterred others.

430. *O progeny of Heav'n,*] Virg. Ec. IV. 7.
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.

Hume.

432. — *long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;*] He had Virgil in mind, Æn. VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad
auras,

Hoc opus, hic labor est.

But to return, and view the chearful skies,
In this the task, and mighty labor lies:

Dryden.

as in what follows of the fire immuring them
round *ninefold*, and of *the gates of burning adam-*
ant,

O Progeny of Heav'n, empyreal Thrones, 430
 With reason hath deep silence and demur
 Seis'd us, though undismay'd: long is the way
 And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
 Our prison strong; this huge convex of fire,
 Outrageous to devour, immures us round 435
 Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant
 Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.
 These pass'd, if any pass, the void profound
 Of unessential Night receives him next
 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being 440
 Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
 If thence he scape into whatever world,
 Or unknown region, what remains him less

Than

mant, he alludes to what Virgil says in the same book, of Styx flowing nine times round the damn'd, and of the gates of Hell.

— *novies Styx interfusa coercet*. ver. 439.
Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnæ. ver. 552.

434. — *this huge convex of fire*,] This huge vault of fire, bending down on all sides round us. *Convex* is spoken properly of the exterior surface of a globe, and *concave* of the interior surface which is hollow: but the poets do

not always speak thus exactly, but use them promiscuously; and hence in Virgil *cæli convexa* and *supera convexa* in several places. And what is here the *convex of fire* is afterwards call'd *the fiery concave*, ver. 635.

438. — *the void profound*] *Inane profundum*, as Lucretius has it in several places.

439. *Of unessential Night*] *Unessential*, void of being; darkness approaching nearest to, and being the best resemblance of non-entity.

Hume.

450. — *Where*

Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?
 But I should ill become this throne, O Peers, 445
 And this imperial sovranity, adorn'd
 With splendor, arm'd with pow'r, if ought propos'd
 And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
 Of difficulty or danger could deter
 Me from attempting. Wherefore do' I assume 450
 These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
 Refusing to accept as great a share
 Of hazard as of honor, due alike
 To him who reigns, and so much to him due
 Of hazard more, as he above the rest 455
 High honor'd sits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
 Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
 While here shall be our home, what best may ease
 The present misery, and render Hell

More

450. — *Wherefore do I assume &c.*] Our author has here caught the spirit of Homer in that divine speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus, Iliad. XII. 310.

Γλαῦκε, τίη δ' ἡ νῶϊ τετιμῆμεθα μάλισα
 Ἐδρη τε, κρεασιν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δ' ἐπαεσιν,
 Ἐν Λυκίῃ; πάντες δ' εἰ, θεὸς ὥς, εἰσορώσι;
 Καὶ τεμεν ὅ νημομεθα μέγα Ξανθοιο παρ' ὄχθας,
 Καλὸν, φυτάλης καὶ ἀρερῆς πυροφόροιο;

Τῷ νῶϊ χρη Λυκίοισι μετὰ πρῶτοισιν ἐορίας,
 Ἐσάμεν, ἠδὲ μάχης καυσεύρης ἀνιδολησσαι· &c.
 Why boast we, Glaucus, our extended reign,
 Where Xanthus' streams enrich the Lycian plain,
 Our numerous herds that range the fruitful field,
 And hills where vines their purple harvest yield,
 Our foaming bowls with purer nectar crown'd,
 Our feasts enhanc'd with music's sprightly sound?
 Why on those shores are we with joy survey'd,
 Admir'd as heroes, and as Gods obey'd?

Unless

More tolerable; if there be cure or charm 460
 To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
 Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch
 Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad
 Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
 Deliverance for us all: this enterprize 465
 None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
 Prudent, lest from his resolution rais'd
 Others among the chief might offer now
 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd; 470
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand
 His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
 Dreaded not more th'adventure than his voice
 Forbidding; and at once with him they rose; 475
 Their

Unless great acts superior merit prove,
 And vindicate the bounteous pow'rs above.
 'Tis our's, the dignity they give, to grace;
 The first in valor, as the first in place. &c.

Pope.

This is one of the noblest and best-spirited
 speeches in the whole Iliad: but (as Mr. Hume
 says) is as much exalted in the imitation, as a
 Seraphim is superior to a Man. And is it not
 a probable presumption, that Milton (whose

dislike to kings is very well known) by putting
 these sentiments into the mouth of the king
 of Hell intended an oblique satir upon the
 kings of the Earth, whose practice is so often
 directly contrary to them?

465.

— *this enterprize*

None shall partake with me.] The abruptness
 of Satan's conclusion is very well express'd by
 the speech breaking off in the middle of the
 verse.

476. *Their*

Their rising all at once was as the sound
 Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
 With awful reverence prone; and as a God
 Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven:
 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd, 480
 That for the general safety he despis'd
 His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd
 Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
 Their specious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,
 Or close ambition varnish'd o'er with zeal. 485
 Thus they their doubtful consultations dark

Ended

476. *Their rising all at once was as the sound of thunder heard remote.*] The rising of this great assembly is described in a very sublime and poetical manner. *Addison.*

483. — *lest bad men should boast &c.*] Here Dr. Bentley asks, whether the Devils retain some of their virtue, on purpose *lest bad men should boast &c.* This being an absurdity, he reads *less should bad men boast &c.* But there is no occasion for the alteration. To take the force of the word *lest*, we must suppose the author to have left his reader to supply some such expression as this, This remark (of the Devils not *losing all their virtue*) I make, *lest bad men should boast &c.* Dr. Bentley knows that *μὴ* in Greek, and *ne* in Latin are often thus used. Milton here seems to have had in view Eph. II. 8, 9. *By grace ye are saved, through faith — not of works, lest any man*

should boast. Not, that they were saved not of works, on purpose *lest any man should boast*; but St. Paul puts them in mind of that, and made that remark to prevent their *boasting.*

Pearce.

As our author has drawn Satan with some remains of the beauty, so he represents him likewise with some of the other perfections of an Arch-Angel; and herein he has follow'd the rule of Aristotle in his Poetics, chap. 15. that the manners should be as good as the nature of the subject will possibly admit. A Devil all made up of wickedness would be too shocking to any reader or writer.

489. — *while the north-wind sleeps,*] So Homer expresses it, Iliad. V. 524.

— οὐρ' εὐδῆσι μὲν Ὁ βορρᾶο, —

that wind generally clearing the sky, and dispersing

Ended rejoicing in their matchless chief:

As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds

Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'er-spread

Heav'n's chearful face, the louring element 490

Scowls o'er the darken'd landskip snow, or shower;

If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet

Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,

The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds

Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings. 495

O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd

Firm concord holds, men only disagree

Of

performing the clouds. Every body must be wonderfully delighted with this similitude. The images are not more pleasing in nature, than they are refreshing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate. We have a simile of the same kind in Homer, but apply'd upon a very different occasion, Iliad. XVI. 297.

Ως δ' οτ' αφ' υψηλης κορυφης ορεος μεγαλοιο
Κινησει πυκνην νεφελην σεροπηγερετα Ζευσ,
Εκ τ' εφανον πασαι σκοπια, και πρωονες ακροι,
Και ναπαι, ερανοθεν δ' αρ' υπερραγη ααυετος αιθρη.

So when thick clouds inwrap the mountain's head,

O'er Heav'n's expanse like one black cieling spread;

Sudden, the Thund'rer with a flashing ray,
Bursts thro' the darkness, and lets down the day:

VOL. I.

The hills shine out, the rocks in prospect rise,
And streams, and vales, and forests strike the eyes,
The smiling scene wide opens to the sight,
And all th' unmeasur'd æther flames with light.
Mr. Pope translates it as if Jupiter lighten'd, which makes it a horrid rather than a pleasing scene; but Homer says only that he remov'd the thick clouds from the mountain top, and so it is explained in the note of Pope's Homer, which shows that the translation and notes were not always made by the same person.

494. — *bleating herds*] Dr. Bentley reads *flocks*, and says that *herd* is a word proper to cattle, that do not *bleat*. But *herd* is originally the common name for a number of any sort of cattle: Hence *Shepherd*, that is *Sheep-herdsman*, see VII. 462. *Pearce*. — *Bleating herds* is much such an expression as Spenser's *flee-y cattle* in *Colin Clout's come home again*.

Q

512. A

Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heav'nly grace: and God proclaiming peace,
 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife 500
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy:
 As if (which might induce us to accord)
 Man had not hellish foes enow besides,
 That day and night for his destruction wait. 505

The Stygian council thus dissolv'd; and forth
 In order came the grand infernal peers:
 Midst came their mighty paramount, and seem'd
 Alone th' antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
 Than Hell's dread emperor with pomp supreme, 510
 And God-like imitated state; him round
 A globe of fiery Seraphim inclos'd
 With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.

Then

512. *A globe of fiery Seraphim*] A globe signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him, as Virgil says, *Æn. X. 373.*

— *qua globus ille virum densissimus urget.*

513. — *horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, set up like the bristles of a wild boar.

Horrentia Martis arma.

Virg. *Æn. I.*

— *denfos acie atque horrentibus hastis.*

Æn. X. 178.

517. — *the sounding alchemy*] Dr. Bentley reads *orichalc*: but since he allows that gold and silver coin, as well as brass and pewter, are *alchemy*, being mix'd metals, for that reason *alchemy* will do here; especially being join'd to the epithet

Then of their session ended they bid cry
 With trumpets regal found the great result: 515
 Tow'ards the four winds four speedy Cherubim
 Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy
 By heralds voice explain'd; the hollow' abyss
 Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
 With deafning shout return'd them loud acclame. 520
 Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat rais'd
 By false presumptuous hope, the ranged Powers
 Disband, and wand'ring, each his several way
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
 Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliest find 525
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
 The irksome hours, till his great chief return.
 Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
 Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,

As

epithet *sounding*, which determines it to mean a trumpet, made perhaps of the mix'd metals of brass, silver, &c. *Pearce*. Alchemy, the name of that art which is the sublimer part of chemistry, the transmutation of metals. Milton names no particular metal, but leaves the imagination at large, any metal possible to be produced by that mysterious art; 'tis a metonymy, the efficient for the effect; vastly poe-

tical! *Richardson*. *Alchemy* is in short what is corruptly pronounc'd *Ockamy*, that is any mix'd metal.

527. — *till his great chief return.*] So it is in the first edition; but in the second and some others it is, *till this great chief return*; which is manifestly an error of the press.

528. *Part on the plain, &c.*] The diversions of the fallen Angels, with the particular ac-

As at th' Olympian games or Pythian fields; 530
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form.
 As when to warn proud cities war appears
 Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush
 To battel in the clouds, before each van 535
 Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
 Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
 From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.

Others

count of their place of habitation, are described with great pregnancy of thought and copiousness of invention. The diversions are every way suitable to beings, who had nothing left them but strength and knowledge misapplied. Such are their contentions at the race and in feats of arms, with their entertainments in the following lines,

Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell &c.

Their music is employ'd in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their discourse in founding the unfathomable depths of fate, free-will, and fore-knowledge. *Addison.*

Part contend on the plain in running, or in the air in flying, as at the famous Olympian or Pythian games in Greece, while another part contend on horseback or in chariot races, *Part curb their fiery steeds, &c.* These warlike diversions of the fall'n Angels during the absence of Satan seem to be copied from the military exercises of the Myrmidons during the absence of their chief from the war, Homer's *Iliad*, II. 774. &c. only the images are rais'd in

proportion to the nature of the beings who are here described. We may suppose too that the author had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's *Elysium*, *Æn.* VI. 642.

*Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris,
 Contendunt ludo, et fulvâ luctantur arenâ:
 Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et carmina dicunt, &c.*

Their aery limbs in sports they exercise,
 And on the green contend the wrestler's prize.
 Some in heroic verse divinely sing;
 Others in artful measures lead the ring. &c.

Dryden.

531. — or *shun the goal*
With rapid wheels,] Plainly taken from Horace, *Od.* I. I. 4.

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.

But with good judgment he says *rapid* not *fervid*: because in these Hell-games both the wheels and the burning marle they drove on were *fervid* even before the race. *Bentley.*

534. *Wag'd*

Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air 540
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.
 As when Alcides, from Oechalia crown'd
 With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
 Through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines,
 And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw 545
 Into th' Euboic ſea. Others more mild,
 Retreated in a ſilent valley, ſing

With

534. *Wag'd in the troubled ſky,*] So Shakeſpear in 1 Hen. IV. Act I. calls theſe appearances

—— the meteors of a troubled Heaven.

536. —— *and couch their ſpears*] Fix them in their reſts. *Couch* from *coucher* (French) to place. A reſt was made in the breaſt of the armour, and was call'd a *reſt* from *arreſter* (French) to ſtay. *Richardſon.*

539. *Others with vaſt Typhœan rage &c.*] Others with rage like that of Typhœus or Typhon, one of the giants who warred againſt Heaven, of whom ſee before I. 199. The contraſt here is very remarkable. Some are employ'd in ſportive games and exerciſes, while others rend up both rocks and hills, and make wild uproar. Some again are ſinging in a valley, while others are diſcourſing and arguing on a hill; and theſe are repreſented as *ſitting*, while others march different ways to diſcover that infernal world. Every company is drawn in contraſt both to that which goes before, and that which follows.

542. *As when Alcides, &c.*] As when Hercules named *Alcides* from his grandfather Alcæus, *from Oechalia crown'd with conquest*, after his return from the conquest of Oechalia a city of Bœotia, having brought with him from thence Iole the king's daughter, *felt th' envenom'd robe*, which was ſent him by Deianira in jealousy of his new miſtreſs, and ſtuck ſo cloſe to his ſkin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other, *and tore through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines, and Lichas* who had brought him the poiſon'd robe, *from the top of Oeta*, a mountain in the borders of Theſſaly, *threw into th' Euboic ſea*, the ſea near Eubœa an iſland in the Archipelago. The madneſs of Hercules was a ſubject for tragedy among the Ancients (*Ηερακλης μαινόμενος* by Euripides, Hercules furens by Seneca) but our author has comprized the principal circumſtances in this ſimilitude, and ſeems more particularly to have copied Ovid, Met. IX. 136.

Victor ab Oechalia —— &c.

550. —— *and*

With notes angelical to many a harp
 Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall
 By doom of battel; and complain that fate 550
 Free virtue should inthrall to force or chance.
 Their song was partial, but the harmony
 (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet 555
 (For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)
 Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
 Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
 Fix'd

550. — *and complain that fate
 Free virtue should inthrall to force or chance.*]

This is taken from the famous distich of Euripides, which Brutus used, when he slew himself;

Ω τλημον αρετη, λογος αρ' ηδ', εγω δε σε
 Ως εργον ησαν· συ δ' αρ' εδ'ελευσας βια.

In some places for βια *force* it is quoted τυχη *fortune*. Milton has well comprehended both, *inthrall to force or chance*. Bentley.

554. *Suspended Hell,*] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virg. Georg. IV. 481.

Quin ipsæ stupuere domus, atque intima lethi
 Tartara, ceruleosque implexæ crinibus angues
 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,
 Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.

E'en from the depths of Hell the damn'd advance,

Th' infernal mansions nodding seem to dance;
 The gaping three-mouth'd dog forgets to snarl,
 The Furies hearken, and their snakes uncurl;
 Ixion seems no more his pain to feel,
 But leans attentive on his standing wheel.

Dryden.

The harmony suspended Hell; but is it not much better with the parenthesis coming between? which suspends as it were the event, raises the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the sentence.

But the harmony
 (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, &c.

555. — *In*

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, 560
 And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.
 Of good and evil much they argued then,
 Of happiness and final misery,
 Passion and apathy, and glory' and shame,
 Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy: 565
 Yet with a pleasing forcery could charm
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
 Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
 Another part in squadrons and gross bands, 570
 On bold adventure to discover wide

That

555. — *In discourse more sweet*] Our poet so justly prefers discourse to the highest harmony, that he has seated his reasoning Angels on a hill as high and elevated as their thoughts, leaving the songsters in their humble valley.

Hume.

559. — *foreknowledge, will, and fate, Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,*] The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expresses the wand'rings and mazes of their discourse. And the turn of the words is greatly improv'd, and render'd still more beautiful by the addition of an epithet to each of them.

565. *Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy:*] *Good and evil*, and *de finibus bonorum et malorum*, &c. were more particularly the subjects of

disputation among the philosophers and sophists of old, as *providence, free will*, &c. were among the school-men and divines of later times: and our author shows herein what an opinion he had of all books and learning of this kind.

568. — *th' obdured breast*] So we read in Milton's own editions, and not *obdurate*, as it is in Dr. Bentley's, Mr. Fenton's, and others:— The same word is used again in VI. 785.

This saw his hapless foes, but stood *obdur'd*.

569. — *with triple steel.*] An imitation of Horace, Od. I. III. 9, 10.

Illi robur, et æs triplex

Circa pectus erat, &c.

His breast was armed with the strength of threefold brass, only our poet useth the hardest metal of the two. Hume.

572. *That*

That dismal world, if any clime perhaps
 Might yield them easier habitation, bend
 Four ways their flying march, along the banks
 Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge 575
 Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
 Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
 Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
 Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon, 580
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

Far

572. *That dismal world,*] The several circumstances in the description of Hell are finely imagin'd; as the four rivers which disgorge themselves into the sea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monstrous animals produced in that infernal world are represented by a single line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them, than a much longer description of them would have done. This episode of the fallen Spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would indeed have spun out so many circumstances to a great length, and by that means have weaken'd, instead of illustrated, the principal fable. *Addison.*

577. *Abhorred Styx, &c.*] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in Hell, and call them after the names of the noxious springs and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example

both as to the number and the names of these infernal rivers, and excellently describes their nature and properties with the explanation of their names. *Styx* so named of a Greek word *στυγέω* that signifies to *hate* and *abhor*, and therefore called here, *Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate*, and by Virgil *palus inamabilis*, *Æn.* VI. 438. *Acheron* has its name from *αχος* dolor and *ρεω* fluo, *flowing with grief*; and is represented accordingly *Sad Acheron, the river of sorrow* as *Styx* was of hate, *black and deep*, agreeable to Virgil's character of it

— tenebrofa palus Acheronte refuso.

Æn. VI. 107.

Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation, because derived from a Greek word *κωκυω* signifying to *weep* and *lament*: as *Phlegethon* is from another Greek word *φλεγω* signifying to *burn*; and therefore rightly described here *fierce Phlegethon, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage*, as it is by Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 550.

— rapidus

Far off from these a flow and silent stream,
 Lethe the river of oblivion rolls
 Her watry labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
 Forthwith his former state and being forgets, 585
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
 Beyond this flood a frozen continent
 Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
 Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems 590
 Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,

A

— rapidus flammis torrentibus amnis
 Tartareus Phlegethon.

We know not what to say as to the situation of these rivers. Homer, the most ancient poet, represents Cocytus as branching out of Styx, and both Cocytus and Phlegethon (or Pyriphlegethon) as flowing into Acheron, Odyss. X. 513.

Ενθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέρουῖα Πυρροφλεγέθων τε ρέουσι
 Κωκυτός δ', ὅς δ' ἡ Στυγὸς ὕδατος εἰν ἀπορρῶξ.

and perhaps he describes their situation as it really was in Greece: but Virgil and the other poets frequently confound them, and mention their names and places without sufficient difference or distinction. Our poet therefore was at liberty to draw (as I may say) a new map of these rivers; and he supposes a *burning lake* agreeably to Scripture that often mentions *the lake of fire*; and he makes these four rivers to

VOL. I.

flow from four different quarters and empty themselves into this burning lake, which gives us a much greater idea than any of the Heathen poets. Besides these there is a fifth river called *Lethe*, which name in Greek signifies *forgetfulness*, and its waters are said to have occasion'd that quality, Æn. VI. 714.

Lethæi ad fluminis undam

Securos latices, et longa oblivia potant:

and Milton attributes the same effect to it, and describes it as a *slow and silent stream*, as Lucan had done before him, IX. 355.

Quam juxta Lethes tacitus prælabitur amnis.

The river of oblivion is rightly plac'd *far off* from the rivers of hatred, sorrow, lamentation, and rage; and divides the frozen continent from the region of fire, and thereby completes the map of Hell with its general divisions.

R

592. — *that*

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
 Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,
 Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
 Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire. 595
 Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd,
 At certain revolutions all the damn'd
 Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice 600
 Their

592. — *that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake 200 furlongs in length and 1000 in compass between the ancient mountain Casius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by hills of loose sand, which carried into the water by high winds so thicken'd the lake, as not to be distinguish'd from part of the continent, where whole armies have been swallow'd up. Read Herodotus, L. 3. and Luc. Phar. VIII. 539. &c.

Perfida qua tellus Casius excurrit arenis,
 Et vada testantur junctas Ægyptia Syrtes, &c.
Hume.

595. *Burns frore,*] *Frore* an old word for frosty. The parching air burns with frost. So we have in Virg. Georg. I. 93.

— *Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat:*
 and in Ecclus. XLIII. 20, 21. *When the cold north-wind bloweth—it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.* And is not the expression used

by the Psalmist of the like nature? *The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night,* Psal. CXXI. 6. in the old translation and the Septuagint?

596. — *by harpy-footed furies hal'd,*] The word *hal'd* in this line is deriv'd from the Belgic *halen* or the French *haler*, and therefore should be spelt as it is here, and not *hail'd* as in Milton's own editions. Spenser uses the word, *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. C. 2. St. 26.

Who rudely *hal'd* her forth without remorse:

and we meet with it several times in Shakspear.

603. — *thence hurried back to fire.*] This circumstance of the damned's suffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns is finely invented to aggravate the horror of the description, and seems to be founded upon Job XXIV. 19. but not as it is in the English translation, but in the Vulgar Latin version, which Milton frequently used. *Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium; Let him pass to excessive*

Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
 Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
 They ferry over this Lethean sound
 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment, 605
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 All in one moment, and so near the brink;

But

excessive heat from waters of snow. And so Jerom and other commentators understand it. There is a fine passage likewise in Shakespear, where the punishment after death is supposed to consist in extreme heat or extreme cold; but these extremes are not made alternate, and to be suffer'd both in their turns, as Milton has describ'd them, and thereby has greatly refin'd and improv'd the thought. Measure for measure, Act. III.

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where:
 To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
 This sensible warm motion to become
 A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
 To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
 In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice, &c.

609. — *and so near the brink;*] This is added as a farther aggravation of their misery, that tho' they were *so near the brink*, so near the brim and surface of the water, yet they could not taste one drop of it. But the reasons follow, *fate withstands, fata obstant* as it is in

Virgil, *Æn.* IV. 440. *and Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards the ford.* Medusa was one of the Gorgon monsters, whose locks were serpents so terrible that they turned the beholders into stone. Ulysses in Homer was desirous of seeing more of the departed heroes, but I was afraid, says he, *Odyss.* XI. 633.

Μη μοι Γοργειην κεφαλην δεινοιο πελωρης
 Εξ Αϊδου περιψειεν αγωνη Περσεφονεια.

Lest Gorgon rising from th' infernal lakes,
 With horrors arm'd, and curls of hissing snakes,
 Should fix me, stiffen'd at the monstrous sight,
 A stony image, in eternal night! Broome.

So frightful a creature is very properly feign'd by our poet to guard this water. And besides *of itself the water flies their taste*, and serves only to *tantalize* them. This is a fine allegory to show that there is no forgetfulness in Hell. Memory makes a part of the punishment of the damn'd, and reflection but increases their misery.

But fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt 610
 Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
 The ford, and of itself the water flies
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
 In cónfus'd march forlorn, th' adventrous bands 615
 With shudd'ring horror pale, and eyes aghast
 View'd first their lamentable lot, and found
 No rest: through many a dark and dreary vale
 They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
 O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620
 Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
 A universe of death, which God by curse
 Created ev'il, for evil only good,

Where

628. *Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.*]
 Our author fixes all these monsters in Hell in
 imitation of Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 287.

— bellua Lernæ
 Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chi-
 mæra,
 Gorgones &c.
 Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra.
 ver. 576.

Tasso has likewise given them a place in his
 description of Hell, or rather he copies Virgil's
 description, *Cant.* 4. *St.* 5.

Qui mille immonde Arpie vedresti, e mille
 Centauri, e Sfinzi, e pallide Gorgoni, &c.

There were Celæno's foul and loathsome rout,
 There Sphinges, Centaurs, there were Gorgons
 fell,

There howling Scyllas, yawling round about,
 There serpents hiss, there sev'n-mouth'd Hydra's
 yell,

Chimæra there spues fire and brimstone out.

Fairfax.

But how much better has Milton comprehend-
 ed them in one line?

634. *Now*

Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, 625
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse
 Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
 Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.

Mean while the Adversary' of God and Man,
 Satan with thoughts inflam'd of highest design, 630
 Puts on swift wings, and towards the gates of Hell
 Explores his solitary flight; sometimes
 He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left,
 Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars
 Up to the fiery concave towering high. 635

As when far off at sea a fleet descry'd
 Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds

Close

634. *Now shaves with level wing the deep,*]
 Virg. Æn. V. 217.

Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet
 alas.

636. *As when far off at sea &c.*] Satan
towering high is here compar'd to a fleet of India-
 men discover'd at a distance, as it were,
hanging in the clouds, as a fleet at a distance
 seems to do. This is the whole of the compa-
 rison; but (as Dr. Pearce observes) Milton in
 his similitudes (as is the practice of Homer and
 Virgil too) after he has shew'd the common
 resemblance, often takes the liberty of wand'ring

into some unressembling circumstances; which
 have no other relation to the comparison, than
 that it gave him the hint, and as it were set
 fire to the train of his imagination. But
 Dr. Bentley asks, why a *fleet* when a first rate
 man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce an-
 swers, Because a fleet gives a nobler image
 than a single ship. And it is a fleet of India-
 men, because coming from so long a voyage
 it is the fitter to be compar'd to Satan in this
 expedition; and these exotic names (as Dr.
 Bentley calls them) give a less vulgar cast to
 the similitude than places in our own channel
 and

Cloſe ſailing from Bengala, or the iſles
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
 Their ſpicy drugs: they on the trading flood 640
 Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
 Ply ſtemming nightly toward the pole. So ſeem'd
 Far off the flying Fiend: at laſt appear
 Hell

and in our own ſeas would have done. This fleet is deſcrib'd, by *equinoctial winds*, the trade-winds blowing about the equinoctial, *cloſe ſailing*, and therefore more proper to be compar'd to a ſingle perſon, *from Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the Eaſt Indies ſubject to the great Mogul, *or the iſles of Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Molucca iſlands in the Eaſt Indian ſea, *whence merchants bring their ſpicy drugs*, the moſt famous ſpices are brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe: *they on the trading flood*, as the winds are call'd *trade-winds*, ſo he calls the flood *trading*, *through the wide Ethiopian ſea to the Cape of Good Hope*, *ply ſtemming nightly toward the pole*, that is by night they ſail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce ſays) by day their fleet may be *deſcry'd hanging in the clouds*. *So ſeem'd far off the flying Fiend*: Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appear'd to *far off*, in this his *ſolitary flight*? But what a cold phlegmatic piece of criticiſm is this? It may be answer'd, that he was ſeen by the Muſe, and would have ſeem'd ſo to any one who had ſeen him. Poets often ſpeak in this manner, and make themſelves and their readers preſent to the moſt retir'd ſcenes of action.

645. *And thrice threefold the gates*;] The gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings; as Homer and the other poets make their heroes ſhields, to have ſeveral coverings of various materials for the greater ſtrength: Ovid. Met. XIII. 2.

— clypei dominus ſeptemplicis Ajax.

Bentley.

647. — *impal'd with circling fire*,] Incloſed, pal'd in as it were. So the word is uſed in Spenſer's *Maiopotmos*,

And round about, her work ſhe did *impale*
 With a fair border wrought of ſundry flowers.

It is commonly applied to that kind of execution, when a pale or ſtake is drove through a malefactor's body.

648. — *Before the gates there ſat &c.*] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a ſort of paraphraſe on that text of the Apoſtle St. James, I. 15. *Then when Luſt hath conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finiſhed bringeth forth Death*. The firſt part of the allegory ſays only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he reſolv'd however to venture. *Richardſon*. The flight of Satan to the gates of Hell is finely imaged. I have already declared my opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is however a very finiſh'd piece in its kind, when it is not conſidered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the ſeveral perſons is contriv'd with great delicacy; Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the offspring of Sin. The inceſtuous mixture between Sin and Death produces thoſe monſters and Hell-hounds, which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of
 her

Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,
 And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were brasse,
 Three iron, three of adamantin rock, 646
 Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
 Yet unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat
 On either side a formidable shape;

The

her who gave them birth. These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the apprehensions of Death. This last beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the speech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful issue, she adds,

Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim Death my son and foe, who sets them on,
 And me his parent would full soon devour
 For want of other prey, but that he knows
 His end with mine involv'd.

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumstance in the last part of this quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portress of Hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be past over in silence, and extremely suitable to this *king of terrors*. I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons; that Sin was produced upon the first revolt of Satan, that

Death appear'd soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's Spirit.

Addison.

But tho' Mr. Addison censures this famous allegory, as improper for an epic poem; yet Bishop Atterbury, whose taste in polite literature was never question'd, seems to be much more affected with this than any part of the poem, as I think we may collect from one of his letters to Mr. Pope. "I return you your
 "Milton, says He, and — I protest to you,
 "this last perusal of him has given me such
 "new degrees, I will not say of pleasure, but
 "of admiration and astonishment, that I look
 "upon the sublimity of Homer and the majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence
 "than I us'd to do. I challenge you, with
 "all your partiality, to show me in the first of
 "these any thing equal to the allegory of Sin
 "and Death, either as to the greatness and
 "justness of the invention, or the highth and
 "beauty of the coloring. What I looked
 "upon as a rant of Barrow's, I now begin to
 "think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it,

*Hæc quicunque leget, tantum cecinisse putabit;
 Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.*

649. On either side a formidable shape;] The figure

The one seem'd woman to the waste, and fair, 650
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
 With mortal sting: about her middle round
 A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung 655
 A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
 If ought disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,
 Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these
 Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea that parts 660
 Calabria

figure of *Death* is pretty well fix'd and agreed upon by poets and painters: but the description of *Sin* seems to be an improvement upon that thought in Horace, *De Art. Poet.* 4.

Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

And it is not improbable, that the author might have in mind too Spenser's description of Error in the mix'd shape of a woman and a serpent, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. C. 1. St. 14.

Half like a serpent horribly display'd,
But th' other half did woman's shape retain, &c.

And also the image of Echidna, B. 6. C. 6. St. 10.

Yet did her face, and former parts profess
A fair young maiden, full of comely glee;
But all her hinder parts did plain express
A monstrous dragon, full of fearful ugliness.

The addition of the Hell hounds about her middle is plainly copied from Scylla, as appears from the following simile.

654. *A cry of Hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd*] Dr. Bentley reads *A crue of Hell-hounds* &c. but Milton's *cry* of Hell-hounds is of much the same poetical stamp as Virgil's *ruunt equites et odora canum vis*, *Æn.* IV. 132. where what is proper to the *canes* is said of the *vis*; as here what is proper to the *Hell-hounds* is said of the *cry*. We have the same way of speaking in VI. 212. VII. 66. and elsewhere. *Pearce.*

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea*] For Circe having poison'd that part of the sea where Scylla used to bathe, the next time Scylla bathed, her lower parts were changed into dogs, *in the sea that parts Calabria*, the farthest part of Italy towards the Mediterranean, *from the hoarse Trinacrian shore*, that is from

Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore:
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call'd
 In secret, riding through the air she comes,
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
 With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring moon 665
 Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
 Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
 For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night, 670
 Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,

And

from Sicily, which was formerly called Trinacria from its three promontories lying in the form of a triangle: and this shore may well be called *hoarse* not only by reason of a tempestuous sea breaking upon it, but likewise on account of the noises occasion'd by the eruptions of mount Ætna; and the number of r's in this verse very well express the hoarseness of it. You have the story of Scylla in the beginning of the 14th book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, ver. 59. &c.

Scylla venit, mediaque tenus descenderat alvo;
 Cum sua foedari latrantibus inguina monstribus
 Aspicit: ac primo non credens corporis illas
 Esse sui partes, refugitque, abigitque, timetque
 Ora proterva canum; sed quos fugit, attrahit una.
 Et corpus quærens femorum, crurumque, pedumque,

VOL. I.

Cerbereos rictus pro partibus invenit illis.
 Statque canum rabies; subjectaque terga ferarum

Inguinibus truncis uteroque exstante cohærent.

The *Cerberean mouths* in Milton is plainly after the *Cerbereos rictus* in Ovid.

665. — *the lab'ring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipses of the moon *labores lunæ*. The three foregoing lines, and the former part of this contain a short account of what was once believ'd, and in Milton's time not so ridiculous as now.

Richardson.

670. — *black it stood as Night, &c.*] Like the ghost described in Homer, *Odyss.* XI. 605.

S

— o o

And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.
 Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
 The monster moving onward came as fast 675
 With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
 Th'undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
 Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
 Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd;
 And with disdainful look thus first began. 680

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
 Thy miscreated front athwart my way
 To yonder gates? through them I mean to pass,
 That be assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee: 685
 Retire,

— ο δ' ἐρεμνὴ νυκτὶ εἰκώς,
 Γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων, καὶ ἐπὶ νευρῶν οἶζον,
 Δεινὸν παπταίνων, αἰεὶ βαλεούρι εἰκώς.

Gloomy as night he stands, in act to throw
 Th' aereal arrow from the twanging bow.

Broome.

678. — *God and his Son except,
 Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd;*]
 This appears at first sight to reckon God and
 his Son among created things, but *except* is
 used here with the same liberty as *but* ver. 333

and 336, and Milton has a like passage in his
 prose works, p. 277. Edit. Tol. *No place in
 Heaven and Earth, except Hell*— Richardson.

683. — *miscreated*] We have been told that
 Milton first coin'd the word *miscreated*, but
 Spenser used it before him, as *Fairy Queen*,
 B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 3.

Eftsoons he took that *miscreated* fair.

and B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 42.

Nor mortal steel empierce his *miscreated* mold.
 Bentley.

684. — *through*

Retire, or taste thy folly', and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven.

To whom the goblin full of wrath reply'd.
Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou He,
Who first broke peace in Heav'n and faith, till then
Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms 691
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's sons
Conjur'd against the Hig'hest, for which both thou
And they, outcast from God, are here condemn'd
To waste eternal days in woe and pain? 695
And reckon'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
Where I reign king, and to enrage thee more,
Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,

False

684. — *through them I mean to pass, &c.]*
Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 4. St. 15.

I mean not thee intreat
To pass; but mauger thee will pass, or die.
Fortin.

692. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's
Sons]* An opinion, as we noted before,
grounded on Rev. XII. 3, 4. *Behold a great red
dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the
stars of Heaven and cast them to the earth.*

693. *Conjur'd against the Hig'hest,]* Banded

and leagued together against the most High.
Of the Latin *conjurare* to bind one another by
oath to be true and faithful in a design under-
taken,

Et conjuratos cœlum rescindere fratres.
Virg. Georg. I. 280.

Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro.
Georg. II. 497.
Hume.

697. *Hell-doom'd,]* As Satan had called Death
Hell-born, ver. 687, Death returns it by calling
Satan *Hell-doom'd*.

S 2

700. *False*

False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, 700
 Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
 Thy lingring, or with one stroke of this dart
 Strange horror seise thee, and pangs unfelt before.

So spake the grisly terror, and in shape,
 So speaking and so threatning, grew tenfold 705
 More dreadful and deform: on th' other side
 Incens'd with indignation Satan stood
 Unterrify'd, and like a comet burn'd,
 That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
 In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair 710
 Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
 Level'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
 No second stroke intend, and such a frown

Each

700. *False fugitive,*] He is here called *false* because he had called himself *a Spirit of Heaven*. Compare ver. 687 with ver. 696. *Pearce*.

708. — *and like a comet burn'd, &c.*] The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his shining armour to a comet; as Virg. *Æn.* X. 272.

Non fecus ac liquida si quando nocte cometæ
 Sanguinei lugubre rubent —

But this comet is so large as to fire the length of the constellation *Ophiuchus* or *Anguitenens*, or *Serpentarius* as it is commonly call'd, a

length of about 40 degrees, *in th' arctic sky*, or the northern hemisphere, *and from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war*. Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and such wonderful events as were supposed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipses, and the like. We have another instance of this nature in I. 598. and Tasso in the same manner compares Argantes to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects, Cant. 7. St. 52.

Qual con le chiome sanguinose horrende
 Splender cometa suol per l'aria adusta,

Che

Each cast at th' other, as when two black clouds,
 With Heav'n's artillery fraught, come rattling on 715
 Over the Caspian, then stand front to front
 Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
 To join their dark encounter in mid air:
 So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
 Grew darker at their frown, so match'd they stood; 720
 For never but once more was either like
 To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
 Had not the snaky forcerefs that sat
 Fast by Hell gate, and kept the fatal key, 725
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.

O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry'd,
 Against

Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi adduce,
 A i purpurei tiranni infausta luce.

As when a comet far and wide descried,
 In scorn of Phœbus midst bright Heav'n doth
 shine,

And tidings sad of death and mischief brings
 To mighty lords, to monarchs, and to kings.
 Fairfax.

715. — *Heav'n's artillery*] Thunder. Juv.
 Sat. XIII. 9.

Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria coeli.
 Hume.

716. *Over the Caspian,*] That sea being par-

ticularly noted for storms and tempests. So
 Horace, Od. II. IX. 2.

— Non mare *Caspium*

Vexant inæquales procellæ

Usque —

And so Fairfax, in Tasso, Cant. 6. St. 38.

Or as when clouds together crush'd and bruised,
 Pour down a tempest by the *Caspian* shore.

722. — *so great a foe:*] Jesus Christ who
 (as it follows ver. 734.) will one day destroy
 both Death and *him that has the power of death*
that is the Devil, Heb. II. 14.

730. — and

Against thy only Son? What fury, O Son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
 Against thy Father's head? and know'st for whom; 730
 For him who sits above and laughs the while
 At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
 Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids;
 His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both.

She spake, and at her words the hellish pest 735
 Forbore, then these to her Satan return'd.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
 Thou interposest, that my sudden hand
 Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
 What it intends; till first I know of thee, 740
 What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why
 In this infernal vale first met thou call'st
 Me Father, and that phantasm call'st my Son;

I

730. —*and know'st for whom;*] These words are read with a semicolon in Milton's own editions, and not with a note of interrogation, as in some others: and the meaning is, *at the same time that thou knowest for whom*; Cum nôris bene cui facias hoc; as Dr. Trapp translates it. If this is not the sense of the words, they must be read with a note of interrogation.

737. *So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange*] The change in the position of the words *so strange* in this verse has a peculiar beauty in it, which Dr. Bentley's alteration of the latter *strange* into *new* utterly destroys.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so new.

I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more detestable than him and thee. 745

T'whom thus the portrefs of Hell gate reply'd.
Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul? once deem'd so fair
In Heav'n, when at th'assembly, and in sight
Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd 750
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's king,
All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide, 755
Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd
Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seis'd
All th'host of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid

At

How flat, lifeless, and unharmonious, compar'd with the common reading!

758. *Out of thy head I sprung:*] Sin is rightly made to spring out of the head of Satan, as Wisdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's: and Milton describes the birth of the one very much in the same manner, as the ancient poets

have that of the other, and particularly the author of the hymn to Minerva vulgarly ascribed to Homer. And what follows seems to be an hint improv'd upon Minerva's being ravish'd soon after her birth by Vulcan, as we may learn from Lucian. *Dial. Vulcani & Jovis, & De Domo.*

771. — *the*

At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign 760
 Portentous held me ; but familiar grown,
 I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
 The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
 Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing
 Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st 765
 With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
 A growing burden. Mean while war arose,
 And fields were fought in Heav'n ; wherein remain'd
 (For what could else ?) to our almighty foe
 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout 770
 Through all the empyréan : down they fell
 Driv'n headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
 Into this deep, and in the general fall
 I also ; at which time this pow'rful key

Into

771. — *the empyréan* :] It is somewhat remarkable that tho' the words *empyrean* and *empyrean* are both spelt in the same manner, yet Milton constantly pronounces *empyrean* with the accent upon the third syllable from the end, and *empyrean* with the accent upon the second. I once imagin'd that he did it to distinguish the substantive from the adjective ; but I find one instance where he uses the word *empyrean* as an adjective, and yet gives it the

same accent as when he makes it a substantive, X. 321.

The confines met of empyréan Heaven.

There is no way of solving the difficulty, unless we suppose with Dr. Heylin that the word *empyrean* is false spelt, and that it ought to be written *empyrial* ἐμπεριῶν in Greek, and the other *empyrean* ἐμπεριῶν.

786. — *bran-*

Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep 775
 These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
 Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. 780
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
 Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
 Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy 785
 Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart
 Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out Death;
 Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
 From all her caves, and back resounded Death.

I

786. — *brandishing his fatal dart*] So Virgil
 of Æneas going to kill Turnus, Æn. XII. 919.

Cunctanti telum Æneas fatale coruscet.

789. *From all her caves, and back resounded*] An imitation of Virgil, Æn. II. 53.

Insonuere cavæ, gemitumque dedere cavernæ.
Hume.

I fled and cry'd out Death — and back resounded Death. The repetition of *Death* here is a

VOL. I.

beauty of the same kind as that of the name of *Eurydice* in Virgil Georg. IV. 525.

Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
 Ah miseram *Eurydicen*, anima fugiente, vocabat;
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ:

only *Death* is made the last word in the sentence, and *Eurydice* for the sake of the verse the first. There is the like repetition in Ecl. VI. 43.

T

His

I fled, but he pursued, (though more, it seems, 790
 Inflam'd with lust than rage) and swifter far,
 Me overtook his mother all dismay'd,
 And in embraces forcible and foul
 Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry 795
 Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceiv'd
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
 To me; for when they list, into the womb
 That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
 My bowels, their repast; then bursting forth 800
 Afresh with conscious terrors vex me round,
 That rest or intermission none I find.
 Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim Death my son and foe, who sets them on,
 And me his parent would full soon devour 805
 For want of other prey, but that he knows

His

His adjungit, *Hylan* nautæ quo fonte relictum
 Clamassent; ut littus, *Hyla, Hyla*, omne so-
 naret.

796. — *as thou saw'st*,] One would think
 it should be *as thou seest*; but we must sup-
 pose that now at this time these monsters

were crept into her womb, and lay there un-
 seen.

809. — *so fate pronounc'd*.] The Heathen
 poets make Jupiter superior to fate: the will
 of Jupiter was perform'd, says Homer, *Iliad*.
 I. 5. Διὶ δ' ἐτελείετο βούλη. Sic fata Deum
 rex

His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
 Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
 Whenever that shall be; so fate pronounc'd.
 But thou, O Father, I forewarn thee, shun 810
 His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
 To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
 Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

She finish'd, and the subtle Fiend his lore 815
 Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth.
 Dear Daughter, since thou clam'st me for thy fire,
 And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
 Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
 Befall'n us unforeseen, unthought of; know 821
 I come no enemy, but to set free
 From out this dark and dismal house of pain

Both

rex fortitur, volvitque vices, says Virgil, *Æn.* III. 375. Et sic fata Jovis poscunt, *Æn.* IV. 614. But Milton with great propriety makes the fall'n Angels and Sin here attribute events to fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being.

817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned *his lore* or lesson, and the reader will observe how artfully he changes his language; he had said before, ver. 745. that he had never seen *sight more detestable*; but now it is *dear daughter*, and *my fair son*.

T 2

842. *Wing*

Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly host
 Of Spi'rits, that in our just pretences arm'd 825
 Fell with us from on high: from them I go
 This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
 Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
 Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immense
 To search with wand'ring quest a place foretold 830
 Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
 Created vast and round, a place of blifs
 In the pourlieus of Heav'n, and therein plac'd
 A race of upstart creatures, to supply
 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd, 835
 Left Heav'n furcharg'd with potent multitude
 Might hap to move new broils: Be this or ought
 Than this more secret now design'd, I haste
 To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
 And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death 840
 Shall

842. *Wing silently the buxom air,*] *Buxom*, as
 when we say a *buxom lass*, is vulgarly under-
 stood for merry, wanton; but it properly sig-
 nifies flexible, yielding, from a Saxon word
 signifying to bend. It is likewise made the
 epithet of the air by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*,
 B. I. C. 11. St. 37.

And therewith scourge the *buxom air* so fore.
 And he shows plainly how he understood the
 word by his use of it in his *View of the state*
of Ireland, "Thinking thereby to make them
 " more tractable and *buxom* to his govern-
 " ment."

855. *Fearless*



Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
 Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd
 With odors; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
 Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.

He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death
 Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile, to hear 846
 His famin should be fill'd, and blest his maw
 Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd
 His mother bad, and thus bespake her fire.

The key of this infernal pit by due, 850
 And by command of Heav'n's all-pow'rful king
 I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
 These adamantin gates; against all force
 Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
 Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might. 855
 But what owe I to his commands above
 Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down

Into

855. *Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might.*]
 In some editions it is *living wight*, that is crea-
 ture, and we have *living wight* before ver. 613:
 and this is likewise Dr. Bentley's reading, for
living might, says he, would not except even
 God himself, the ever-living and the almighty.

But God himself must necessarily be excepted
 here; for it was by his command that Sin and
 Death sat to guard the gates, and therefore
living might cannot possibly be understood of
 God, but of any one else who should endeavor
 to force a passage.

868. *The*

Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
 To sit in hateful office here confin'd,
 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nly-born, 860
 Here in perpetual agony and pain,
 With terrors and with clamors compass'd round
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
 Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
 My being gav'st me; whom should I obey 865
 But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon
 To that new world of light and bliss, among
 The Gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as befits
 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end. 870

Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
 And towards the gate rolling her bestial train,
 Forth-

868. *The Gods who live at ease,*] Word for word from Homer, Θεοὶ περὶ ζωνῆς. Bentley. 'Tis Sin who speaks here, and she speaks as an Epicurean. Richardson.

873. *And tow'ards the gate rolling her bestial train,*] A modern riming poet would perhaps have said

And rolling tow'ards the gate her bestial train,
 and no bad line neither: but how much bet-

ter doth Milton's express the rolling of her serpentine train, and how well the sound agrees with the sense!

881. — and on their binges grate
Harsh thunder,] How much stronger and more poetical is this than Virgil's, *Æn.* I. 449.

— foribus cardo stridebat ænis:

Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
 Which but herself, not all the Stygian Powers 875
 Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
 Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
 Of massy iron or solid rock with ease
 Unfastens: on a sudden open fly
 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound 880
 Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
 Excell'd her pow'r; the gates wide open stood,
 That with extended wings a banner'd host 885
 Under spread ensigns marching might pass through
 With horse and chariots rank'd in loose array;
 So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth
 Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.

Before

or Æn. VI. 573.

— horrifono stridentes cardine sacrae
 Panduntur portae?

The ingenious author of the *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth* remarks that this expression is copied from the History of Don Bellianis, where, when one of the knights approaches the castle of Brandezar, the gates are said to open *grating harsh thunder*

upon their brazen hinges. And it is not improbable that Milton might take it from thence, as he was a reader of all kinds of romances.

882. — *the lowest bottom shook Of Erebus.*] The most profound depth of Hell.

Erebi de sedibus imis. Virg. Georg. IV. 471.
Hume.

894. — *where*

Before their eyes in sudden view appear 890
 The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
 Illimitable ocean, without bound,
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,
 And time, and place are lost; where eldest Night
 And Chaos, ancestors of nature, hold 895
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce,
 Strive here for mast'ry, and to battel bring
 Their embryon atoms; they around the flag 900
 Of each his faction, in their several clans,

Light-

894. — *where eldest Night*

And Chaos, &c.] All the ancient naturalists, philosophers, and poets, hold that *Chaos* was the first principle of all things; and the poets particularly make *Night* a Goddess, and represent *Night* or darkness and *Chaos* or confusion as exercising uncontroll'd dominion from the beginning. Thus Orpheus in the beginning of his hymn to *Night* addresses her as the mother of the Gods and Men, and origin of all things,

Νυκτα θεων γενεταραν αισομαι ηδ'ε και ανθρωπων,
 Νυξ γενεσις παντων.

And our author's system of the universe is in short, that the empyrean Heaven, and Chaos and darkness were before the creation, Heaven

above and Chaos beneath; and then upon the rebellion of the Angels *first Hell* was formed out of Chaos *stretching far and wide beneath*; and afterwards *Heaven and Earth*, another world, hanging o'er the realm of Chaos, and won from his dominion. See ver. 1002, &c. and 978.

898. *For hot, cold, moist, and dry, &c.*] Ovid. Met. I. 19.

Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ficcis,
 Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.

The reader may compare this whole description of Chaos with Ovid's, and he will easily see how the Roman poet has lessen'd the grandeur of his by puerile conceits and quaint antitheses;

Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
 Swarm populous, un-number'd as the sands
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
 Levied to side with warring winds, and poise 905
 Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
 He rules a moment; Chaos umpire sits,
 And by decision more embroils the fray
 By which he reigns: next him high arbiter
 Chance governs all. Into this wild abyfs, 910
 The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,
 Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
 But all these in their pregnant causes mix'd

Con-

titheses: every thing in Milton is great and masterly.

902. *Light-arm'd or heavy,*] He continues the warlike metaphor; some of them are *light-arm'd or heavy*, *levis* or *gravis armaturæ*.

Hume.

904. *Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,*] A city and province of dry sandy Libya, Virg. *Æn.* IV. 42.

Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes
 Barcæi.

905. — *and poise*] Give weight or ballast to. Pliny speaks of certain birds, who when a storm arises poise themselves with little stones, L. II. C. 10. Virgil has the same thought of his bees, Georg. IV. 194. Richardson.

VOL. I.

906. *To whom these most adhere,*] Dr. Bentley reads *the most adhere*, that is (says he) he of the four rules, while he has the majority. But this is not Milton's sense; for according to him no *atoms* adhere to *moist*, but such as belong to his faction, and the same is to be said of *hot*, *cold*, and *dry*. Therefore the reason why any one of these four champions *rules* (tho' but for a *moment*) is because the atoms of his faction *adhere most* to him. Firm dependence indeed (says the Doctor) and worthy the superlative *most*, that lasts but for a *moment*: but I should think that the less firm the dependence is, the finer image we have of such a state as that of Chaos is. Pearce.

U

917. *Into*

Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
 Unless th' almighty Maker them ordain 915
 His dark materials to create more worlds;
 Into this wild abyfs the wary Fiend
 Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
 Pond'ring his voyage; for no narrow frith
 He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd 920
 With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
 Great things with small) than when Bellona storms,
 With all her battering engins bent to rase
 Some capital city; or less than if this frame
 Of Heav'n were falling, and these elements 925
 In

917. *Into this wild abyfs the wary Fiend
 Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd awhile,*]
 Dr. Bentley reads *Look'd from the brink of Hell
 and stood awhile*: and he calls the common
 reading an absurd and ridiculous blunder, be-
 cause *into this wild abyfs* relates not to *stood* but
 to *look'd*, which is the verb at the farthest
 distance. But if this be a blunder, Milton is
 elsewhere guilty of it; we may rather suppose
 that he could not but see it, and therefore that
 he thought it an allowable liberty in writing:
 for thus in V. 368. he says

— what the garden choicest bears
 To fit and taste —
 where *fit and taste* is us'd for *sitting taste*; as
 here *stood and look'd* for *standing look'd*.

Pearce.

Here is a remarkable transposition of the words,
 the sense however is very clear; The wary
 Fiend stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd
 awhile into this wild abyfs, pondering his
 voyage. 'Tis observable the poet himself
 seems to be doing what he describes, for the
 period begins at 910, then he goes not on di-
 rectly, but lingers, giving an idea of Chaos
 before he enters into it. 'Tis very artful! If
 his stile is somewhat abrupt, after such ponder-
 ing, it better paints the image he intended to
 give. *Richardson.*

921. ——— (*to compare
 Great things with small*)] An expression in
 Virg. Ecl. I. 24. *parvis componere magna*.
 And what an idea doth this give us of the
 noises of Chaos, that even those of a city be-
 sieged,

In mutiny had from her axle torn
 The stedfast earth. At last his sail-broad vans
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
 Uplifted spurns the ground; thence many a league,
 As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides 930
 Audacious; but that seat soon failing, meets
 A vast vacuity: all unawares
 Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
 Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance 935
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
 Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him

As

sieged, and of Heaven and Earth ruining
 from each other are but small in comparison?
 And tho' both the similitudes are truly excel-
 lent and sublime, yet how surprisingly doth the
 latter rise above the former!

927. — *his sail-broad vans*] As the air
 and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken
 from the one are often applied to the other,
 and flying is compar'd to sailing, and sailing
 to flying.

Velorum pandimus alas,
 says Virgil, *Æn.* III. 520. And *Æn.* I. 300.

— volat ille per aera magnum

Remigio alarum.

The same manner of speaking has prevail'd
 likewise among the modern poets, and in
 Spenser, as well as in the passage before us,

wings are liken'd to sails, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1.
 Cant. 11. St. 10.

His flaggy wings when forth he did display,
 Were like two sails.

And afterwards, St. 18.

— he cutting way

With his broad sails, about him soared round.

933. — *pennons*] This word is vulgarly
 spelt *pinions*, and so Dr. Bentley has printed
 it: but the author spells it *pennons* after the
 Latin *penna*. The reader will observe the
 beauty of the numbers here without our point-
 ing it out to him.

935. — *had not by ill chance*] An ill chance
 for mankind, that he was thus speeded on his
 journey so far. *Pearce.*

U 2

938. — *that*

As many miles aloft: that fury stay'd,
 Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea,
 Nor good dry land: nigh founder'd on he fares, 940
 Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
 Half fly'ing; behoves him now both oar and sail.
 As when a gryphon through the wilderness
 With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
 Pursues the Arimasbian, who by stealth 945
 Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
 The guarded gold: So eagerly the Fiend

O'er

938. — *that fury stay'd, &c.*] That fiery rebuff ceased, quenched and put out by a soft quicksand: *Syrtis* is explain'd by *neither sea nor good dryland*, exactly agreeing with *Lucan. Phar. IX. 304.*

Syrtes — in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit.
Hume.

941. — *half on foot,*
Half flying;] *Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. II. St. 8.*

Half flying, and half footing in his haste.

Our author seems to have borrow'd several images from the old dragon describ'd by *Spenser.*

942. — *behoves him now both oar and sail.*] It behoveth him now to use both his oars and his sails, as galleys do; according to the proverb *Remis velisque*, with might and main.

Hume.

943. *As when a gryphon &c.*] *Satan half on foot, half flying*, in quest of the new world, is here compar'd to a gryphon *with winged course* both flying and running in pursuit of the *Arimasbian* who had stol'n his gold. Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold mines. The *Arimaspians* were a one-ey'd people of *Scythia* who adorn'd their hair with gold, *Lucan. III. 280.*

*Hinc et Sithoniæ gentes, auroque ligatas
 Substringens Arimaspe comas.*

Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the gryphons and *Arimaspians* about gold, the gryphons guarding it and *Arimaspians* taking it whenever they had opportunity. See *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 2.* *Arimaspi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media insignes: quibus assidue bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum*

O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
 With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
 And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies: 950
 At length a universal hubbub wild
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd,
 Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
 With loudest vehemence: thither he plies,
 Undaunted to meet there whatever Power 955
 Or Spirit of the nethermost abyfs
 Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask

Which

rum volucris genere, quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus, et Arimaspiis rapientibus, multi, sed maximè illustres Herodotus et Aristæas Proconnesius scribunt.

948. *O'er bog, or steep, &c.*] Dr. Bentley's reading is not amiss *O'er bog, o'er steep, &c.* The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well express'd by so many monosyllables as follow, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and with frequent pauses. There is a memorable instance of the roughness of a road admirably describ'd by a single verse in Homer, *Iliad*. XXIII. 116.

Πολλα δ' αναντα, καταντα, παραντα τε, δοχ-
 μια τ', ηλθον.

which Mr. Pope has been oblig'd to translate paraphrastically to give us some idea of the beauty of the numbers, and he has made use of several monosyllables, as Milton has done.

O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er rocks they go;

Jumping, high o'er the shrubs of the rough ground,

Rattle the clatt'ring cars, and the shockt axles bound.

956. — *the nethermost abyfs*] Dr. Bentley rejects *nethermost* here, and again in ver. 969, and charges Milton's blindness as the cause of his forgetting himself here and being inconsistent. But it is the Doctor that mistakes, and not the Poet: for tho' the *throne of Chaos* was above Hell, and consequently a part of the *abyfs* was so, yet a part of that *abyfs* was at the same time far below Hell; so far below, as that, when Satan went from Hell on his voyage, he fell in that *abyfs* 10000 fathom deep, ver. 934. and the poet there adds, that if it had not been for an accident, he had been falling down there to this hour: nay it was so deep as to be *illimitable*, and *where hight is lost*.

Which way the nearest coast of darkneſs lies
 Bord'ring on light; when ſtrait behold the throne
 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion ſpread 960
 Wide on the waſteful deep; with him enthron'd

Sat

loſt. Surely then the *abyſs*, conſider'd all together, was *nethermoſt* in reſpect of Hell, below which it was ſo endleſſy extended: and therefore there was no occaſion for Dr. Bentley to read here *this vaſt unknown abyſs*, inſtead of *the nethermoſt abyſs*, nor in ver. 969. *regnant o'er this vaſt abyſs* inſtead of *of this nethermoſt abyſs*. Pearce.

962. *Sat ſable-veſted Night,*] Clothed in her ſable furs; a *ſable* is a creature whoſe ſkin is of the greater price, the blacker it is. Μελαμπενλος δὲ Νυξ. Euripides. *Hume.* Milton here and in what follows ſeems to have had in his view Spenser's fine deſcription of Night, which is very much in the taſte of this allegory of Milton's. See Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. 5. St. 20.

Where griſly Night, &c.

964. *Orcus and Ades,*] *Orcus* is generally by the poets taken for Pluto, as *Ades* for any dark place. Theſe terms are of a very vague ſignification, and employ'd by the ancient poets accordingly. Milton has perſoniz'd them, and put them in the court of Chaos.

Richardſon.

964. — *and the dreaded name*

Of Demogorgon;] There was a notion among the Ancients of a certain deity, whoſe very name they ſuppoſed capable of producing the moſt terrible effects, and which they therefore dreaded to pronounce. This deity is mention'd as of great power in incantations. Thus

Erictho is introduced threatning the infernal Powers for being too ſlow in their obedience by Lucan, Phar. VI. 744.

— Paretis? an ille

Compellandus erit, quo nunquam terra vocato
 Non concuſſa tremit, qui Gorgona cernit aper-
 tam,

Verberibuſque ſuis trepidam caſtigat Erinnyem,
 Indeſpecta tenet vobis qui Tartara; cujus
 Vos eſtis ſuperi; Stygias qui pejerat undas?

Yet, am I yet, ye fullen fiends, obey'd?
 Or muſt I call your maſter to my aid?

At whoſe dread name the trembling furies
 quake,

Hell ſtands abaſh'd, and earth's foundations
 ſhake?

Who views the Gorgons with intrepid eyes,
 And your inviolable flood deſies? Rowe.

And likewise Tiresias by Statius, Thebaid.
 IV. 514.

Scimus enim et quicquid dici noſcique timetis,
 Et turbare Hecaten, nî te, Thymbræe, vererer,
 Et triplicis mundi ſummum quem ſcire ne-
 faſtum eſt,

Illum ſed taceo.

And Iſmen threatens in the ſame ſtrain in Taſſo,
 Cant. 13. St. 10.

Per lungo diſuſar già non ſi ſcorda, &c.

I have not yet forgot for want of uſe,
 What dreadful terms belong this ſacred feat,

My

Sat fable-vested Night, eldest of things,
 The consort of his reign; and by them stood
 Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
 Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance, 965
 And

My tongue (if still your stubborn hearts refuse)
 That so much dreaded name can well repeat,
 Which heard great Dis cannot himself excuse,
 But hither run from his eternal seat. Fairfax.

The name of this deity is *Demogorgon*, which some think a corruption of *Demiurgus*; others imagin him to be so call'd, as being able to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other spectators to stone, and to this Lucan seems to allude, when he says

— qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenser too mentions this infernal deity, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 22.

Which waft begot in *Demogorgon's* hall,
 And saw't the secrets of the world unmade:
 and places him likewise in the immense abyss
 with Chaos, B. 4. Cant. 2. St. 47.

Down in the bottom of the deep abyss,
 Where *Demogorgon* in dull darkness pent,
 Far from the view of Gods and Heaven's bliss,
 The hideous Chaos keeps, their dreadful dwelling is:

and takes notice also of the dreadful effects of his name, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 37.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name
 Great *Gorgon*, prince of darkness and dead
 night,
 At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to
 flight.

Well therefore might Milton distinguish him by *the dreaded name of Demogorgon*: and *the name of Demogorgon* is as much as to say *Demogorgon* himself, as in Virgil *Æn.* VI. 763. *Albanum nomen* is a man of Alba, *Æn.* XII. 515. *Nomen Echionium*, id est Thebanum, is a Theban; and we have a memorable instance of this way of speaking in Rev. XI. 13. *And in the earthquake were slain ονοματα ανθρωπων names of men seven thousand*, that is seven thousand men. And besides these authorities to justify our author, let me farther add what the learned Mr. Jortin hath suggested, that this name “is to be found in Lactantius, the Scholiast of Statius on Thebaid. IV. 516. Dicit Deum Demogorgona summum. It is also to be found in Hyginus, pag. 11. Edit. Hamburg. Oct. 1674. Ex Demogorgone et Terra Python, draco divinus, if the place be not corrupted. See Muncker there.”

965. — *Rumor next and Chance*,] In Satan's voyage through the Chaos there are several imaginary persons described, as residing in that immense waste of matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the taste of those critics who are pleased with nothing in a poet which has not life and manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those passages in this description which carry in them a greater measure of probability, and are such as might possibly have happen'd. Of this kind is his first mounting in the smoke that rises from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud of

And Tumult and Confusion all embroil'd,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

T'whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost abyfs,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy, 970
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your realm, but by constraint
Wand'ring this darksome desert, as my way
Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek 975

What

of nitre and the like combustible materials, that by their explosion still hurried him forward in his voyage; his springing upward like a pyramid of fire, with his laborious passage through that confusion of elements which the poet calls

The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave.
Addison.

Mr. Addison seems to disapprove of these fictitious beings, thinking them I suppose (like Sin and Death) improper for an epic poem: but I see no reason why Milton may not be allow'd to place such imaginary beings in the regions of Chaos, as well as Virgil describe the like beings, Grief, and Fear, and Want, and Sleep, and Death, and Discord likewise within the confines of Hell; and why what is accounted a beauty in one should be deemed a fault in the other. See *Æn.* VI. 273. &c.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus
Orci,

Luctus, et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ:
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et maleuada Fames, et turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formæ: Letumque, Laborque:
Tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bel-

lum,

Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia
demens

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

Just in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell,
Revengeful Cares, and fullen Sorrows dwell;
And pale Diseases, and repining Age;
Want, Fear, and Famine's unresisted rage;
Here Toils, and Death, and Death's half-brother Sleep,

Forms terrible to view, their sentry keep;
With anxious Pleasures of a guilty mind,
Deep Frauds before, and open Force behind;
The Furies iron beds, and Strife that shakes
Her hissing tresses, and unfolds her snakes.

Dryden.

What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
 Confine with Heav'n; or if some other place,
 From your dominion won, th' ethereal king
 Possesses lately, thither to arrive
 I travel this profound; direct my course; 980
 Directed no mean recompense it brings
 To your behoof, if I that region lost,
 All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
 To her original darkness and your sway
 (Which is my present journey) and once more 985
 Erect

Every reader, I believe, has been pleased with
 this description; and it is impossible to be
 pleased with Virgil, and to be displeased with
 Milton. We may observe both in Virgil and
 Milton that Discord is made the last of these
 imaginary beings, but how much greater an
 idea have we of Discord *with a thousand va-*
rious mouths than with snaky hair,

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis!

972. *The secrets of your realm,*] This passage
 has been objected to without any reason. He
 means probably secret places, as in ver. 891.
Secrets is used here as *secreta* sometimes in
 Virgil:

In *secreta* fenis ducam: Georg. IV. 403.

— Horrendæque procul *secreta* Sibyllæ,
 Antrum immane petit: Æn. VI. 10.

And likewise in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 6.
 Cant. 12. St. 24.

VOL. I.

And searched all their cells and *secrets* near.
 Or if we understand by *secrets* secret counsels
 and transactions, the word *disturb* will be pro-
 per enough as in I. 167.

— and disturb

His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim;
 and the word *explore* will be very proper, as in
 VII. 95.

What we, not to explore the secrets ask
 Of his eternal empire.

981. *Directed no mean recompense it brings &c.*] My
 course directed may bring no little recom-
 pense and advantage to you, if I reduce that
 lost region, all usurpation being thence ex-
 pell'd, to her original darkness and your sway
 (which is the purport of my present journey)
 and once more erect the standard there of an-
 cient Night.

X

999. — if

Erect the standard there of ancient Night;
Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltring speech and visage incompos'd,
Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art, 990
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's king, though overthrown.
I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
Fled not in silence through the frighted deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, 995
Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n gates
Pour'd

999. — *if all I can will serve
That little which is left so to defend, &c.]*
Dr. Bentley makes great alterations here, and
would have us read

— *if all I can will serve
That little which is left us to defend
Encroach'd on by creations old and new
Straitning the bounds of ancient Night:*

For *so* in the second verse he reads *us*: but *so*
is right, and signifies by *keeping residence on my
frontiers* and *doing all I can*. Again, he finds
fault with *our intestine broils*, and says that
Chaos's or Night's *scepter* is not *weaken'd*, but
is strengthen'd and subsists by them. So far
he is right, and therefore Milton, if he wrote
our intestine broils, could never mean the broils
within the realm of Chaos. It appears from
the following verses, that the encroachments
which Chaos means were the creation of *Hell*

first, and then of the *new world*, the creation
of both which was the effect not of any broils
in Chaos's realm, but of the *broils* in Heaven
between God and Satan, the good Angels and
the bad, called *intestine war* and *broils* in VI.
259, 277. So that the passage as it stands
seems to be faulty; but without so great an al-
teration as Dr. Bentley makes, we may clear
it of all difficulty. We must remember that
it is Satan, to whom Chaos here speaks, and
therefore we may suppose that Milton gave it
through your intestine broils. In the first editions
there is no comma after *broils*; and there
should be none, because *broils* is the substan-
tive with which the participle *weakening* agrees:
It was their *broils* which *weaken'd* Night's
scepter, because the consequences of them less-
en'd her kingdom. *Pearce*. This change
of *our* into *your* is so just and necessary, that
we thought it best to admit it into the text.

1005. — *link'd*

Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
Keep residence; if all I can will serve
That little which is left so to defend, 1000
Encroach'd on still through your intestine broils
Weakning the scepter of old Night: first Hell
Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;
Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain 1005
To that side Heav'n from whence your legions fell:
If that way be your walk, you have not far;
So

1005.---*link'd in a golden chain*] There is mention made in Homer of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he can draw up the Gods and the earth and the sea and the whole universe, but they cannot draw him down. You may see the passage at large in the beginning of the 8th book of the Iliad.

Εἰδ' ἄγε, παρησαδέ θεοί, ἵνα εἰδέτε πάντες,
Σειρὴν χρυσεὴν ἐξ ἑρανοθεν κρεμασάντες·
Πάντες δ' ἐξαπλιδέ θεοί, πασαι τε θεαῖναι.
Ἀλλ' ἔκ' ἂν ἐρυσσάιτ' ἐξ ἑρανοθεν πρὸς ἰονδ'·
Ζην' ὑπατον μῆσσωρ', εἰ μάλ' ἀπολλὰ καμοίτε·
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ προσφρων ἐθέλοιμι ἐρυσσαι,
Ἀυτὴ κεν γαῖη ἐρυσσάιμ', αὐτὴ τε θαλάσση·
Σειρὴν μὲν κεν ἐπειτα περὶ ῥιον Οὐλυμποῖο
Δηταμένη· τὰ δ' ἔκ' αὐτὲ μετ' ἡορὰ πάντα γένοιτο.

League all your forces then, ye Pow'rs above,
Join all, and try th' omnipotence of Jove:

Let down our golden, everlasting chain,
Whose strong embrace holds Heav'n, and earth
and main:

Strive all of mortal or immortal birth,
To drag by this the Thund'rer down to earth:
Ye strive in vain! If I but stretch this hand,
I heave the Gods, the ocean, and the land,
I fix the chain to great Olympus' height,
And the vast world hangs trembling in my sight.

Pope.

It is most probably and ingeniously conjectur'd, that by this golden chain may be understood the superior attractive force of the sun, whereby he continues unmov'd, and draws all the rest of the planets toward him. But whatever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet took from hence the thought of hanging the world by a golden chain.

So much the nearer danger; go and speed;
Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.

He ceas'd; and Satan stay'd not to reply, 1010
But glad that now his sea should find a shore,
With fresh alacrity and force renew'd
Springs upward like a pyramid of fire
Into the wild expanse, and through the shock
Of fighting elements, on all sides round 1015

Environ'd

1009. *Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to that character of Chaos by Lucan, Phar. VI. 696.

Et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos.

1011. *But glad that now his sea should find a shore,*] A metaphor to express his joy that now his travel and voyage should end, somewhat like that of one of the Ancients, who reading a tedious book and coming near to the end cry'd *I see land, Terram video.*

1017. — *than when Argo pass'd &c.*] The first long ship ever seen in Greece, in which Jason and his companions failed to Cholchis to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Bosporus*, the Thracian Bosporus, or the straits of Constantinople, or the channel of the Black Sea. It is sometimes writ *Bosphorus*, as in Mr. Fenton's edition, from βσς and φερω: but Milton is more exact and accurate, and writes *Bosporus* according to the best Greek authors, from βσς ωρφ, bovis transitus, the sea being so narrow there that cattle are said to have swum cross it. *Betwixt the justling rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Euxin or Black Sea,

called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal *concurrentia saxa*, Sat. XV. 19. which Milton very well translates *the justling rocks*, because they were so near, that at a distance they seemed to open and shut again, and jostle one another, as the ship varied its course this way and that as usual. In Ponto duæ Cyaneæ, ab aliis Symplegades appellatæ, traditæque fabulis inter se concurrissæ: quoniam parvo discretæ intervallo, ex adverso intrantibus geminæ cernebantur, paulumque deflexa acie, coeuntium speciem præbebant. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 4. Cap. 13. The reader may see a farther account of these rocks, and the passage betwixt them in Apollonius, Argonaut. II. 317, &c. In short Satan's voyage through the fighting elements was more difficult and dangerous than that of the Argonauts through narrow seas betwixt justling rocks.

1019. *Or when Ulysses on the larbord shunn'd Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd.*] These two verses Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. *Larbord* (he says) is abominable in heroic poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor owns) thought it not unfit to be employ'd there: and Milton in other places has used nautical

Environ'd wins his way ; harder beset
 And more indanger'd, than when Argo pass'd
 Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rocks :
 Or when Ulysses on the larbord shunn'd
 Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd. 1020
 So he with difficulty and labor hard
 Mov'd on, with difficulty and labor he ;
 But he once past, soon after when man fell,

Strange

nautical terms, without being censur'd for it by the Doctor. So in IX. 513. he speaks of *working a ship*, of *veering* and *shifting* ; and in I. 207. of *mooring under the lee*. So Virgil's *legere littus* is observed to be a term borrow'd from mariners, by Servius in his notes on Georg. II. 44. and Æn. III. 127. But the Doctor has two very formidable objections against the sense of these verses. First he says that *larbord* or left hand is a mistake here for *starbord* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *starbord* of *Ulysses*, when he sail'd thro' these straits. This is very true, but it does not affect what Milton here says ; for the sense may be, not that *Ulysses* shunn'd *Charybdis* situated on the *larbord* of his ship as he was sailing ; but that *Ulysses* sailing on the *larbord* (to the left hand where *Scylla* was) did thereby shun *Charybdis* ; which was the truth of the case. The Doctor's other objection is, that *Scylla* was no *whirlpool*, which yet she is here supposed to have been : But Virgil (whom Milton follows oftner than he does Homer) describes *Scylla* as *naves in saxa trabentem*, Æn. III. 425. and what is that less than calling it a *whirlpool* ? And Athan. Kircher, who has

written a particular account of *Scylla* and *Charybdis* upon his own view of them, does not scruple to call them both *whirlpools*. The truth is, that *Scylla* is a rock situated in a small bay on the Italian coast, into which bay the tide runs with a very strong current, so as to draw in the ships which are within the compass of its force, and either dash them against the rock, or swallow them in the eddies : for when the streams have thus violently rush'd into the bay, they meet with the rock *Scylla* at the farther end, and being beat back must therefore form an eddy or *whirlpool*. This account is gather'd partly from Sandys's travels, and partly from *Historia orbis terræ*, &c. where it is said, *Ejus natura est ut ingenti ultro citroque commeantium aquarum perturbatione agitur : quando affluxu agitur, tanta est ejus violentia, ut navis eò delapsa, omni evadendi spe sublata, montium parietibus illidatur. Vide Hoffman. Lexicon. Pearce.*

1023. *But he once past, &c.*] Dr. Bentley would throw out here eleven verses, as if they were an interpolation : but the foregoing words, containing a repetition of what went before them, *with difficulty and labor he*, have no force

nor

Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
 Following his track, such was the will of Heaven, 1025
 Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way
 Over the dark abyſs, whoſe boiling gulf
 Tamely induc'd a bridge of wondrous length
 From Hell continued reaching th' utmoſt orb
 Of this frail world; by which the Spirits perverſe 1030
 With eaſy intercourſe paſs to and fro
 To tempt or puniſh mortals, except whom
 God and good Angels guard by ſpecial grace.
 But now at laſt the ſacred influence
 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven 1035
 Shoots far into the boſom of dim Night
 A glimmering dawn; here Nature firſt begins
 Her fartheſt verge, and Chaos to retire

As

nor propriety, unleſs it be added (as it is in theſe verſes) that ſome others afterwards went this way with more eaſe.

Pearce.

It is evident that theſe lines are Milton's, and cannot be an interpolation of the editor. But yet I am afraid we cannot ſo eaſily get over the Doctor's other objection that this ſame bridge is deſcrib'd in Book X. for ſeveral lines together poetically and pompouſly, as a thing un- touch'd before and an incident to ſurpriſe the reader; and therefore the poet ſhould not have

anticipated it here. Let the lines themſelves be approv'd; yet it muſt be allow'd, it is wrong conduct and want of oeconomy for the whole poem. And we cannot recollect a parallel inſtance in Homer or Virgil, or any authoriz'd poet.

1025. —*ſuch was the will of Heaven,*] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Hom. Iliad. I. 5.

1039. *As from her outmoſt works*] Dr. Bentley reads *his* inſtead of *her*: but the meaning is not that Chaos retires as from his own outmoſt

As from her outmost works a broken foe
 With tumult less and with less hostile din, 1040
 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
 And like a weather-beaten vessel holds
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;
 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air, 1045
 Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
 Far off th' empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
 With opal tow'rs and battlements adorn'd
 Of living saphir, once his native seat; 1050
 And fast by hanging in a golden chain
 This pendent world, in bigness as a star
 Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.

Thither

most works, but retires as from the outmost works of Nature mentioned before.

1049. *With opal tow'rs*] With towers of precious stones. *Opal* is a stone of diverse colors, partaking of the carbuncles faint fire, the amethysts bright purple, and the emeralds chearing green. *Hume and Richardson.*

1052. *This pendent world, in bigness as a star Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.*] By *this pendent world* is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole

orb of fix'd stars immensely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in comparison. This is sure from what Chaos had lately said, v. 1004.

Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world, Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain.

Besides, Satan did not see the Earth yet; he was afterwards surpris'd at the sudden view of all *this world at once*, III. 542. and wander'd long on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun, and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel, where

Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurs'd, and in a curst hour he hies. 1055

where the Earth and Paradise were. See III. 722. *This pendent world* therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe, and *beheld far off* it appear'd in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than *a star of smallest magnitude*; nay not so large, it appear'd no bigger than such a star appears to be when it is *close by the moon*, the superior light whereof makes any star that happens to be near her disk, to seem exceedingly small and almost disappear. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken the sense of this passage, understanding that the Earth was meant, and yet arguing very justly that the Earth could not be meant: and Mr. Addison has fallen into the like mistake, as appears from his words; "The glimmering light which shot into the Chaos from the utmost verge of the creation, with the distant

discovery of the Earth that hung close by the moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical." But how much more wonderful is the imagination of such prodigious distance, that after Satan had traveled on so far, and comes within view of the whole world, it should still appear in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than the smallest star, and that star appearing yet smaller by its proximity to the moon! and how much more beautiful and poetical is it to open the scene thus by degrees! Satan at first descries the whole world at a distance in book the second, and then in book the third he discovers our planetary system and the sun, and afterwards by the direction of Uriel the earth and neighbouring moon.

The end of the Second Book.



Haymandel

Rauet. Sc.

T H E A R C H B I S H O P

God rising on his throne, the great King of the world, then
heaven opened; shows him to the Son who sits at his right hand;
tells the history of Satan's rebellion, and cleans his own
justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free
and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his
purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own
will, as did Satan, but of the Son of God renders

T H E

praise to his Father for the glorious purpose of
grace; but God again declares that Grace cannot be extended
towards Man without the satisfaction of Divine Justice; Man hath
therefore to be restored by the Son of God, who is the

T H I R D B O O K

all his property devoted to death, and thus some one can
be a satisfaction to answer for his offence, and undergo his punish-
ment. The Son of God is made a ransom for Man

O F

the Father accepts him, orders his redemption, pronounces his exis-
tence, and thus in Heaven and Earth; commands all to

P A R A D I S E L O S T.

Man when the first cover of his world's ornament is laid;
shows how he fell, and a place there called the Land of Vanity;
then returns and brings us up the story; then comes to the gate of
Eden, and describes ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament;
tells that how about it; the golden chain to the orb of the sun;
the river that flows from the fountain of life, and the life of ages;
the four rivers of Eden, and the garden of Eden; and the serpent's temptation

VOL. I.

Y

T H E A R G U M E N T.

God sitting on his throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shows him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretels the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduc'd. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to God-head, and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offense, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermost orb; where wand'ring he first finds a place, since call'd The Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, describ'd ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had plac'd here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on mount Niphates.

P A R A D I S E L O S T.

B O O K III.

HAIL holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,
 Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam
 May I express thee' unblam'd? since God is light,
 And never but in unapproached light
 Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee, 5
Bright

Horace advises a poet to consider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton seems to have known perfectly well, wherein his strength lay, and has therefore chosen a subject entirely conformable to those talents, of which he was master. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the sublime, his subject is the noblest that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Every thing that is truly great and astonishing has a place in it. The whole system of the intellectual world; the Chaos and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell, enter into the constitution of his poem. Having in the first and second books represented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the opposite regions of bliss and glory.

Addison.

1. *Hail holy Light, &c.*] Our author's address to Light, and lamentation of his own blindness may perhaps be censur'd as an excrescence or digression not agreeable to the rules of epic poetry; but yet this is so charming a part of the poem, that the most critical reader, I imagin, cannot wish it were omitted.

One is even pleas'd with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occasion of so many beauties, and acquaints us so much with the circumstances and character of the author.

2. *Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam*

May I express thee' unblam'd?] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the eternal God? The Ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they address'd their deities, and Milton in imitation of them questions whether he should address the Light as the first-born of Heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal stream whose fountain is unknown: But as the second appellation seems to ascribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very justly doubts whether he might use that without blame.

3. — *since God is light,*

And — in unapproached light

Dwelt —] From 1 John I. 5. *God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.* And 1 Tim. VI. 16. *Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto.*

Y 2

6. *Bright*

Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
 Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream,
 Whose fountain who shall tell? before the sun,
 Before the Heav'ns thou wert, and at the voice
 Of God, as with a mantle didst invest 10
 The rising world of waters dark and deep,
 Won from the void and formless infinite.
 Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,
 Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight 15
 Through

6. *Bright effluence of bright essence increate.*] What the Wisdom of Solomon says of Wisdom, he applies to Light, VII. 25, 26. *She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, — she is the brightness of the everlasting light.*

7. *Or hear'st thou rather*] Or dost thou rather hear this address, dost thou delight rather to be call'd, *pure ethereal stream*? An excellent Latinism, as Dr. Bentley observes, Hor. Sat. II. VI. 20.

Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis?

And we have an expression of the same kind in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. 5. St. 23.

If old Aveugle's sons so evil bear.

Whose fountain who shall tell? As the question is ask'd in Job XXXVIII. 19. *Where is the way where light dwelleth?*

11. *The rising world of waters dark and deep,*]

For the world was only in a state of fluidity, when the light was created; as Moses says, *The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and God said Let there be light, and there was light*, Gen. I. 2, 3.

12. *Won from the void and formless infinite.*] *Void* must not here be understood as *emptiness*, for Chaos is described full of matter; but *void*, as destitute of any form'd being, void as the earth was when first created. What Moses says of that is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void*. A short but noble description of Chaos, which is said to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. *Richardson*.

16. *Through utter and through middle darkness*] Through Hell which is often call'd *utter darkness*, and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the *middle darkness*.

17. *With*

Through utter and through middle darkness borne
 With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre
 I sung of Chaos and eternal Night,
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
 The dark descent, and up to re-ascend, 20
 Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,
 And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
 Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
 So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs, 25
 Or

17. *With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre &c.*] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius, I. 493. Orpheus was inspir'd by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heav'nly Muse*; therefore he boasts he sung with other notes than Orpheus, tho' the subjects were the same. *Richardson.*

19. *Taught by the heav'nly Muse &c.*] He was not only *taught* by the Muse *to venture down*, which indeed was not very hard and difficult, but also *up to reascend*, tho' hard and rare, which is manifestly an allusion to Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad
 auras

Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci, quos æquus
 amavit

Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
 Diis geniti potuere.

But to return, and view the chearful skies,
 In this the task, and mighty labor lies:
 To few great Jupiter imparts this grace,
 And those of shining worth and heav'nly race.
 Dryden.

25. *So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their
 orbs,*

Or dim suffusion veil'd.] *Drop serene* or *Gutta serena*. It was formerly thought that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watry, cold humor distilling upon the optic nerve, tho' making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; 'tis now known to be most commonly an obstruction in the capillary vessels of that nerve, and curable in some cases. A *cataract* for many ages, and till about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the sight, beginning with dimness, and so increasing till vision was totally obstructed: but the

Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
 Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief
 Thee, Sion, and the flowry brooks beneath, 30
 That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
 Nightly

the disease is in the crystallin humor lying between the outmost coat of the eye and the pupilla. The dimness which is at the beginning is called a *suffusion*; and when the sight is lost, 'tis a *cataract*; and cur'd by couching, which is with a needle passing through the external coat and driving down the diseas'd crystallin, the loss of which is somewhat supply'd by the use of a large convex glass. When Milton was first blind, he wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to consult Dr. Thevenot; he sent his case ('tis in the 15th of his familiar letters): what answer he had is not known; but it seems by this passage that he was not certain what his disease was: or perhaps he had a mind to describe both the great causes of blindness according to what was known at that time, as his whole poem is interspers'd with great variety of learning. *Richardson.*

26. — Yet not the more

Cease I to wander,] Dr. Bentley would read *Yet not for that* &c. there being as he says no gradation in ceasing. Dr. Pearce prefers as coming nearer to the text, *Yet not therefore*, our poet and Fairfax frequently placing the tone on the last syllable of *therefore*. But I cannot see the necessity for an alteration; *Yet not the more cease I to wander* may be allow'd, if not justify'd by *Et si quid cessare potes* in Virgil,

Ecl. VII. 10. We may understand *cease* here in the sense of *forbear*; Yet not the more *forbear* I to wander: I do it as much as I did before I was blind.

29. *Smit with the love of sacred song;*] So Virgil. Georg. II. 475.

Dulces ante omnia Musæ,
 Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore.

30. — *the flowry brooks beneath,*] Kedron and Siloah. He still was pleas'd to study the beauties of the ancient poets, but his highest delight was in the songs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures, and in these he meditated day and night. This is the sense of the passage stript of its poetical ornaments.

32. — *nor sometimes forget*] 'Tis the same as *and sometimes not forget*. *Nec* and *neque* in Latin are frequently the same as *et non*.

Pearce.

33. *Those other two* &c.] It has been imagin'd that Milton dictated *Those other too*, which tho' different in sense, yet is not distinguishable in sound, so that they might easily be mistaken the one for the other. In strictness of speech perhaps we should read *others* instead of *other*, *Those others too*: but *those other* may be admitted as well as *these other* in IV. 783. — *these other wheel the north*: but then it must be acknowledged that *too* is a sorry

Nightly I visit: nor sometimes forget
 Those other two equall'd with me in fate,
 So were I equal'd with them in renown,
 Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides, 35
 And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old:
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
 Harmonious

forry botch at best. The most probable explanation of this passage I conceive to be this. Tho' he mentions *four*, yet there are but *two* whom he particularly desires to resemble, and those he distinguishes both with the epithet *blind* to make the likeness the more striking,

Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides.

Mæonides is Homer, so call'd from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet desires to equal him in renown, whose writings he so much studied, admir'd and imitated. The character of *Thamyris* is not so well known and establish'd: but Homer mentions him in the *Iliad*. II. 595; and Eustathius ranks him with Orpheus and Musæus, the most celebrated poets and musicians. That lustful challenge of his to the nine Muses was probably nothing more than a fable invented to express his violent love and affection for poetry. Plato mentions his hymns with honor in the beginning of his eighth book of *Laws*, and towards the conclusion of the last book of his *Republic* feigns, upon the principles of transmigration, that the soul of *Thamyris* passed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth, and invented the Doric mood or measure, according to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch in his treatise of Music says that he had the finest voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and

from Suidas we learn that he compos'd likewise a poem of the generation of the world, which being subjects near of kin to Milton's might probably occasion the mention of him in this place. *Thamyris* then and *Homer* are *those other two* whom the poet principally desires to resemble: And it seems as if he had intended at first to mention only those two, and then currente calamo had added the two others, *Tiresias* and *Phineus*, the one a Theban, the other a king of Arcadia, famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity, for the word *prophet* sometimes comprehends both characters as *vates* doth in Latin.

And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old.

Dr. Bentley is totally for rejecting this verse, and objects to the bad accent of *Tiresias*: but as Dr. Pearce observes, the accent may be mended by supposing that the interlin'd copy intended this order of the words,

And Phineus and Tiresias prophets old.

And the verse appears to be genuin by Mr. Marvel's alluding to it in his verses prefix'd to the second edition;

Just Heav'n Thee, like Tiresias, to requite,
 Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

37. — *that voluntary move*
Harmonious numbers; &c.] And the reader
 will

Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
 Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year 40
 Seasons return, but not to me returns
 Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
 But cloud instead, and ever-during dark 45
 Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of men
 Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair

Presented

will observe the flowing of the numbers here with all the ease and harmony of the finest voluntary. The words seem of themselves to have fall'n naturally into verse almost without the poet's thinking of it. And this harmony appears to greater advantage for the roughness of some of the preceding verses, which is an artifice frequently practis'd by Milton, to be careless of his numbers in some places, the better to set off the musical flow of those which immediately follow.

39. — *darkling*,] It is said that this word was coin'd by our author, but I find it used several times in Shakespear and the authors of that age. Lear's fool says, Act. I. So out went the candle, and we were left *darkling*.

41. *Seasons return, but not to me returns*] This beautiful turn of the words is copied from the beginning of the third act of Guarini's Pastor Fido. Mirtillo addresses the spring.

Tu torni ben, ma teco
 Non tornano &c.
 Tu torni ben, tu torni,
 Ma teco altro non torna &c.

Thou art return'd; but the felicity
 Thou brought'st me last is not return'd with thee:

Thou art return'd; but nought returns with thee

Save my last joys regretful memory. Fanshawe.

49. *Of Nature's works &c.*] Dr. Bentley reads *All Nature's map &c.* because (he says) *a blank of works* is an unphilosophical expression. If so, and if the sentence must terminate at *blank*, why may we not read?

Presented with an universal blank;
All Nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,
 that is, all Nature's works being, in respect to
 the *universal blank*, or absence of light from
 me, expung'd to me and ras'd. Pearce.

It

Presented with a universal blank
 Of Nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,
 And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out. 50
 So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight. 55

Now had th' almighty Father from above,
 From the pure empyréan where he sits

High

It is to be wish'd that some such emendation as this was admitted. It clears the syntax, which at present is very much embarrass'd. *All Nature's works being to me expung'd and ras'd, and wisdom at one entrance quite shut out* is plain and intelligible; but otherwise it is not easy to say what the conjunction *And* copulates *wisdom* to; *And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out*.

49. — *ras'd,*] Of the Latin *radere*; the Romans who writ on waxed tables with iron files, when they struck out a word, did *tabulam radere* rase it out. Light and the blessings of it were never drawn in more lively colors and finer strokes; nor was the sad loss of it and them ever so passionately and so patiently lamented. They that will read the most excellent Homer, bemoaning the same misfortune, will find him far short of this. Herodotus in his life gives us some verses, in which he bewailed his blindness. *Hume.*

52. *Shine inward,*] He has the same kind
 VOL. I.

of thought more than once in his prose works. See his Epist. to Emeric Bigot. *Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amissum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem?* Epist. Fam. 21. See also his *Defensio Secunda*, p. 325. Edit. 1738. *Sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eò se efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eò clarius eluceat; tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sane haud ultima Dei cura cæcissimus; — nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quam cælestium alarum umbrâ has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longè præstabiliore lumine haud raro solet.*

56. *Now had th' almighty Father &c.*] The
 Z survey

High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
 His own works and their works at once to view:
 About him all the Sanctities of Heaven 60
 Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd
 Beatitude past utterance; on his right
 The radiant image of his glory sat,
 His only Son; on earth he first beheld
 Our two first parents, yet the only two 65
 Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
 Uninterrupted joy, unrival'd love
 In blissful solitude; he then survey'd

Hell

survey of the whole creation, and of every thing that is transacted in it, is a prospect worthy of omniscience; and as much above that, in which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the Christian idea of the supreme Being is more rational and sublime than that of the Heathens. The particular objects, on which he is described to have cast his eye, are represented in the most beautiful and lively manner. Addison.

59. — *and their works*] That is the works of his own works, the operations of his own creatures, Angels, Men, Devils.

62. — *on his right*

The radiant image of his glory sat,

His only Son;] According to St. Paul, Heb. I. 3. *His Son — who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person — sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high.*

Let the discerning linguist compare the preceding description of God with that by Tasso, Cant. 9. Stan. 55, 56, 57. Hume.

75. *Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, &c.*] The universe appear'd to Satan to be a solid globe, incompass'd on all sides but uncertain whether with water or air, but *without firmament*, without any sphere of fixed stars over it, as over the earth. The sphere of fixed stars was itself comprehended in it, and made a part of it.

79. *Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.*] If Milton's majesty forsakes him any where, it is in those parts of his poem, where the divine Persons are introduced as speakers. One may, I think, observe that the author proceeds with a kind of fear and trembling, whilst he describes

Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there 70
 Coasting the wall of Heav'n on this side Night
 In the dun air sublime, and ready now
 To stoop with wearied wings and willing feet
 On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd
 Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, 75
 Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
 Him God beholding from his prospect high,
 Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
 Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

Only begotten Son, see'st thou what rage 80
 Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds

Prescrib'd,

scribes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play, but chooses to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture. The beauties therefore, which we are to look for in these speeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur, as with thoughts of devotion. The passions, which they are design'd to raise, are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of the speeches in the third book consists in that shortness and perspicuity of stile, in which the poet has couch'd the greatest mysteries of Christianity, and drawn together in a regular scheme the whole dispensation of Providence

with respect to Man. He has represented all the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-will and grace, as also the great points of incarnation and redemption (which naturally grow up in a poem that treats of the fall of Man) with great energy of expression, and in a clearer and stronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. As these points are dry in themselves to the generality of readers, the concise and clear manner, in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular art which he has made use of in the interspersing of all those graces of poetry, which the subject was capable of receiving. Satan's approach to the confines of the creation is finely imaged in the beginning of the speech, which immediately follows. *Addison.*

Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
 Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyfs
 Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems
 On desperate revenge, that shall redound 85
 Upon his own rebellious head. And now
 Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way
 Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
 Directly tow'ards the new created world,
 And Man there plac'd, with purpose to assay 90
 If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
 By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert,
 For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
 And easily transgress the sole command,
 Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall, 95
 He and his faithless progeny: Whose fault?
 Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
 All he could have; I made him just and right,
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

Such

101. — *both them who stood and them who fail'd;*] Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line show that the author gave it,

— both them who stood and them who fell;
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.

Bentley.

108. — (*reason also' is choice*)] The author had

Such I created all th' ethereal Powers 100
 And Spi'rits, both them who stood and them who fail'd;
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
 Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
 Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
 Where only what they needs must do appear'd, 105
 Not what they would? what praise could they receive?
 What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
 When will and reason (reason also' is choice)
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
 Made passive both, had serv'd necessity, 110
 Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,
 So were created, nor can justly' accuse
 Their maker, or their making, or their fate,
 As if predestination over-rul'd
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree 115
 Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
 Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,

Fore-

had express'd the same sentiment before in
 prose. " Many there be that complain of di-
 vine Providence for suffering Adam to trans-
 gress. Foolish tongues! when God gave
 him reason, he gave him freedom to choose,

" for reason is but choosing: he had been else
 " a mere artificial Adam, &c. See his Speech
 for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing, p. 149,
 and 150. Edit. 1738.

117. — if *I foreknew*,] If here does not
 imply

Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
 So without least impulse or shadow' of fate, 120
 Or ought by me immutably foreseen,
 They trespass, authors to themselves in all
 Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
 I form'd them free, and free they must remain,
 Till they inthrall themselves; I else must change 125
 Their nature, and revoke the high decree
 Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
 Their freedom, they themselves ordain'd their fall.
 The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
 Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls, deceiv'd 130
 By th' other first: Man therefore shall find grace,
 The other none: in mercy' and justice both,
 Through

imply the least doubt or uncertainty; but is used, as it is sometimes in the best authors, in the sense of *Though*. Though I foreknew, that foreknowledge had no influence.

121. *Or ought by me immutably foreseen,*] To *foresee immutably* (says Dr. Bentley) are two ideas that cannot unite: he thinks therefore that Milton must have given it *immutably foredoom'd*. His objection is right, but his emendation is wrong, I think. Milton seems rather to have dictated

Or ought by me *immutable* foreseen, where *ought immutable* may signify any event that cannot be chang'd or alter'd. *Pearce*. *Immutably foreseen* seems to mean so foreseen as to be immutable. If Milton had dictated *immutable*, he would probably have said

Or ought immutable by me foreseen.

135. *Thus while God spake, &c.*] The effects of this speech in the blessed Spirits, and in the divine Person to whom it was address'd, cannot

Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glory' excel,
But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd 135.
All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd:
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd; and in his face 140.
Divine compassion visibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without measure grace,
Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.

O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace; 145
For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high extol
Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound

Of

not but fill the mind of the reader with a secret pleasure and complacency. *Addison.*

140. *Substantially express'd;*] According to Heb. I. 3. where the Son of God is stiled, *the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person*; χαρὰ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, the character of his substance, as the original expresseth it. *Hume.*

147. — *with th' innumerable sound.*

Of hymns and sacred songs,] Dr. Bentley reads *with innumerable strains* &c. He thinks it

strange to find *innumerable* join'd to a singular number, unless the substantive implies multitude in the very name: But is not *innumerable sound of songs* here the same with *innumerable force of Spirits* in I. 101.? In both places the word *innumerable*, tho' join'd to *sound* and *force*, yet in sense refers to *songs* and *Spirits*. See also X. 268. Again he dislikes *sound*, because *resound* follows in the next verse but one. But this way of writing is common in this poem: See I. 642. and II. 190, 192. So in

I. 441,

Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
 Incompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.
 For should Man finally be lost, should Man, 150
 Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,
 Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
 With his own folly? that be from thee far,
 That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
 Of all things made, and judgest only right. 155
 Or shall the Adversary thus obtain
 His end, and frustrate thine? shall he fulfil
 His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought,
 Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
 Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to Hell 160
 Draw after him the whole race of mankind,
 By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyself
 Abolish thy creation, and unmake

For

I. 441, 442. we read *songs unsung*. And we have the very thing which the Doctor finds fault with in VII. 558.

Follow'd with acclamation and the *sound*
 Symphonious of ten thousand harps that tun'd
 Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air
Resounded. Pearce.

153. — *that be from thee far, &c.*] An imitation of Genesis, XVIII. 25. *That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked; and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: shall not the judge of all the earth do right?*

158. — *nought,*]

For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?
 So should thy goodness and thy greatness both 165
 Be question'd and blasphem'd without defense.

To whom the great Creator thus reply'd.
 O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,
 Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might, 170
 All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all
 As my eternal purpose hath decreed:
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
 Freely vouchsaf'd; once more I will renew 175
 His lapsed pow'rs, though forfeit and inthrall'd
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires;
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
 On even ground against his mortal foe,

By

158. — *nought*,] This word and *ought* our author most usually spells *naught* and *aught*, and they may be spelt either way; but this is grown obsolete, and the other may be justify'd as well from the Saxon.

168. O Son, &c.] The Son is here address'd by several titles and appellations borrow'd from Scripture. O Son, in whom my soul hath chief

delight, from Mat. III. 17. My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. Son of my bosom, from John I. 18. The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father. My word, from Rev. XIX. 13. And his name is called the word of God. My wisdom and effectual might, from 1 Cor. I. 24. Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.

By me upheld, that he may know how frail 180
 His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
 All his deliverance, and to none but me.
 Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
 Elect above the rest; so is my will:
 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd 185
 Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
 Th'incens'd Deity, while offer'd grace
 Invites; for I will clear their senses dark,
 What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due. 190
 To pray'r, repentance, and obedience due,
 Though but endeavor'd with sincere intent,
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
 And I will place within them as a guide
 My umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear, 195
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain,
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.

This

180. *By me upheld,*] It was before, ver. 178. *Upheld by me.* The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have the oftner taken notice of these turns of the words, because it has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns of the words in Milton.

183. *Some I have chosen of peculiar grace &c.*] Our author did not hold the doctrine of rigid predestination; he was of the sentiments of the more moderate Calvinists, and thought that some indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the rest might be saved complying with

This my long sufferance and my day of grace
 They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
 But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more, 200
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.
 But yet all is not done; Man disobeying,
 Disloyal breaks his fealty, and sins
 Against the high supremacy of Heaven, 205
 Affecting God-head, and so losing all,
 To expiate his treason hath nought left,
 But to destruction sacred and devote,
 He with his whole posterity must die,
 Die he or justice must; unless for him 210
 Some other able, and as willing, pay
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.
 Say heav'nly Pow'rs, where shall we find such love?
 Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
 Man's mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save? 215
 Dwells

with the terms and conditions of the Gospel.

192. — *endeavor'd*] So Milton spells this word, and it is most agreeable to our pronunciation of it, as well as to its derivation from the French *en* and *devoir*.

197. *And to the end persisting, safe arrive.]*
He that endureth to the end shall be saved, Mat.
X. 22.

215. — *and just th' unjust to save?]* That is, Which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust? Which of ye will be righteous enough

Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?

He ask'd, but all the heav'nly quire stood mute,
And silence was in Heav'n: on Mans behalf
Patron or intercessor none appear'd,
Much less that durst upon his own head draw 220

The deadly forfeiture, and ransome set.
And now without redemption all mankind
Must have been lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulness dwells of love divine, 225
His dearest mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is past, Man shall find grace;
And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The speediest of thy winged messengers,

To

to supply the defects of others righteousness? It is plainly an allusion to 1 Pet. III. 18. *For Christ also hath once suffer'd for sins, the just for the unjust.*

217. — *stood mute,*] I need not point out the beauty of that circumstance, wherein the whole host of Angels are represented as standing mute, nor show how proper the occasion was to produce such a silence in Heaven.

Addison.

This beautiful circumstance is raised upon Rev. VIII. 1. where upon a certain occasion it is

said, *There was silence in Heaven.* And so, as there was silence in Hell, when it was propos'd who should be sent on the dangerous expedition to destroy mankind, there is likewise silence in Heaven, when it is ask'd who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But tho' the silence is the same in both places, the difference of the expression is remarkable. In Hell it is said *all sat mute*, II. 420, as there the infernal peers were sitting in council; but here

To visit all thy creatures, and to all 230
 Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unfought?
 Happy for Man, so coming; he her aid
 Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
 Atonement for himself or offering meet,
 Indebted and undone, hath none to bring: 235
 Behold me then; me for him, life for life
 I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
 Account me Man; I for his sake will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
 Freely put off, and for him lastly die 240
 Well pleas'd; on me let Death wreck all his rage;
 Under his gloomy pow'r I shall not long
 Lie vanquish'd; thou hast giv'n me to possess

Life

here it is said they *stood mute*, as the good Angels were standing round about the throne of God.

231. *Comes unprevented,*] Prevent from *prævenire* to come before: This grace is not preceded by merit or supplication; itself prevents or goes before; 'tis a free gift, as XI. 3. *Prevenient grace descending*, &c. 2 Tim. I. 9. *Not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace.* Psal. LXXXVIII. 13. *But unto thee have I cry'd, O Lord, and in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee.* Here the favor

if it comes, comes not *unprevented*; prayer prevents or goes before God's goodness.

Richardson.

236. *Behold me then; me for him, life for life I offer; on me let thine anger fall; Account me Man;*] The frequent and vehement repetition of *me* here is very like that in Virgil, *Æn.* IX. 427.

Me, me: *adsum qui feci:* in *me* convertite ferrum:

and a little afterwards,

Figite

Life in myself for ev'r; by thee I live,
 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due 245
 All that of me can die; yet that debt paid,
 Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul
 For ever with corruption there to dwell;
 But I shall rise victorious, and subdue 250
 My vanquisher, spoil'd of his vaunted spoil;
 Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop
 Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.
 I through the ample air in triumph high
 Shall lead Hell captive maugre Hell, and show 255
 The Pow'rs of darkness bound. Thou at the sight
 Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
 While by thee rais'd I ruin all my foes,
 Death last, and with his carcass glut the grave:

Then

*Figite me, si qua est pietas: in me omnia tela
 Conjicite, ô Rutuli; me primum absumite
 ferro.*

244. *Life in myself for ev'r;]* For as
 the Father hath life in himself, so hath he
 given to the Son to have life in himself, John
 V. 26.

249. — *with corruption there to dwell;]*
 According to the Psalmist, *For thou wilt not
 leave my soul in Hell, neither suffer thine Holy
 One to see corruption*, Psal. XVI. 10. applied
 to our Saviour's resurrection by St. Peter, Acts
 II. 20, 21, &c.

254. *I through the ample air in triumph
 high &c.] Thou hast ascended on high,
 thou*

Then with the multitude of my redeem'd 260
 Shall enter Heav'n long absent, and return,
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd
 And reconcilment; wrath shall be no more
 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire. 265

His words here ended, but his meek aspect
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
 To mortal men, above which only shone
 Filial obedience: as a sacrifice
 Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will 270
 Of his great Father. Admiration seis'd
 All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend
 Wond'ring; but soon th' Almighty thus reply'd.

O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace
 Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou 275
 My

thou hast led captivity captive, Psal. LXVIII. 18. *And having spoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it*, Col. II. 15.

259. *Death last*,] According to St. Paul, *The last enemy that shall be destroy'd is death*, 1 Cor. XV. 26.

269. — *as a sacrifice &c.*] An allusion to

Psal. XL. 6. and the following verses, *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened; burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required: Then said I, Lo I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart.*

My sole complacence! well thou know'st how dear
 To me are all my works, nor Man the least,
 Though last created; that for him I spare
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,
 By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost. 280
 Thou therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,
 Their nature also to thy nature join;
 And be thyself Man among men on earth,
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,
 By wondrous birth: be thou in Adam's room 285
 The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.
 As in him perish all men, so in thee,
 As from a second root, shall be restor'd
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.

His

277. — *nor Man the least,*] The least dear,
Though last created; somewhat like Shakespear's
 Lear to Cordelia, Act. I.

— *Now our joy,*
Although our last, not least.

281. — *whom thou only canst redeem,*
Their nature] That is, the nature of them,
 whom thou only canst redeem. A manner of
 speaking very usual with our author.

287. *As in him perish all men, &c.*] *For as*
in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be
made alive, 1 Cor. XV. 22.

299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem,*]
 The love of the Father in giving the Son to
 death, and the love of the Son in submitting
 to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. War-
 burton thus explains it. “Milton's system of
 “divinity taught, says he, not only that Man
 “was redeemed, but likewise that a real price
 “was paid for his redemption; *dying to re-*
 “*deem* therefore signifying only redemption
 “in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly
 “represents his system; so imperfectly that it
 “may as well be called the Socinian; the
 “price paid (which implies a proper redemp-
 “tion)

His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit 290
 Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
 Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,
 Shall satisfy for Man, be judg'd and die, 295
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise
 His brethren, ransom'd with his own dear life.
 So heav'nly love shall outdo hellish hate,
 Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
 So dearly to redeem what hellish hate 300
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroys
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
 Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume,

Man's

"tion) is wanting. But to pay a price im-
 "plying a voluntary act, the poet therefore
 "well expresses it by *giving to death* that is
 "giving himself to death; so that the sense
 "of the line fully expresses Milton's notion,
 "Heavenly love gave a price for the redemption
 "of mankind, and by virtue of that price really
 "redeemed them."

301 — *and still destroys*] Dr. Bentley ob-
 jects to *still destroys*, that this speech is before
 Adam's fall, and therefore he thinks that
 Milton gave it *and will destroy*. But there are
 many passages in these speeches of God and

Messiah, where the fall is spoken of as a thing
 past; perhaps because all things, even future
 ones, are present to the divine Mind. Thus
 we read in ver. 151.

Thy creature late so lov'd :
 and ver. 181.

— that he may know how frail
 His fall'n condition is : —

And yet these two passages, with others of the
 same kind, Dr. Bentley has suffer'd to stand
 uncensur'd. Pearce.

B b

317. — all

Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.
 Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss 305
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying
 God-like fruition, quitted all to save
 A world from utter loss, and hast been found
 By merit more than birthright Son of God,
 Found worthiest to be so by being good, 310
 Far more than great or high; because in thee
 Love hath abounded more than glory' abounds,
 Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign 315
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
 Anointed universal king; all power
 I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
 Thy merits; under thee as head supreme
Thrones,

317. — *all power*
I give thee;] Mat. XXVIII. 18. *All power*
is given unto me.

318. — *and assume*
Thy merits;] Imitated from Horace's *Sume*
superbiam quæsitam meritis, Od. III. XXX. 14.
 but adapted to the divine Person to whom it is
 spoken.

321. *All knees to thee shall bow, &c.] That*

at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of
things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and
things under the Earth, Philip. II. 10.

334. *The world shall burn, &c.] The Heavens*
being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements
shall melt with fervent heat; nevertheless we,
according to his promise, look for new Heavens,
and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness,
 2 Pet. III. 12, 13.

335. *New*

Thrones, Princedoms, Pow'rs, Dominions I reduce:
 All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide 321
 In Heav'n, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
 When thou attended gloriously from Heaven
 Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send
 The summoning Arch-Angels to proclame 325
 Thy dread tribunal; forthwith from all winds
 The living, and forthwith the cited dead
 Of all past ages, to the general doom
 Shall hasten, such a peal shall rouse their sleep.
 Then all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge 330
 Bad men and Angels; they arraign'd shall sink
 Beneath thy sentence; Hell, her numbers full,
 Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Mean while
 The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring
 New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell, 335
 And

335. *New Heav'n and Earth,*] Dr. Bentley reads *Heav'ns*; for (he says) *Heav'n* is the seat of God, *Heav'ns* are the visible ones, all not beyond the fixed stars: but I find Milton almost always using the known Jewish phrase of *Heaven and Earth* to express the whole creation by. See instances in VII. 62, 167, 232, 256, 617. VIII. 15, 70. X. 638, 647. XI. 66, 901. *Pearce.* The last verse cited by

Dr. Pearce is almost the same as this we are here considering.

New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

We may add too, that tho' St. Peter says *new Heavens and a new Earth*, yet St. John, Rev. XXI. 1. makes use of the phrase of *Heaven and*
 B b 2

And after all their tribulations long
 See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
 With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.
 Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,
 For regal scepter then no more shall need, 340
 God shall be all in all. But all ye Gods,
 Adore him, who to compass all this dies;
 Adore the Son, and honor him as me.

No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
 The multitude of Angels, with a shout 345
 Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
 As

and Earth. And I saw a new Heaven and a new Earth, for the first Heaven and the first Earth were passed away.

337. *See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,]*
Toto surget gens aurea mundo. Virg. Ecl. IV. 9.
Hume.

341. *God shall be all in all.] According to*
1 Cor. XV. 28. And when all things shall be
subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself
be subject unto him that put all things under him,
that God may be all in all.

341. — *But all ye Gods,*
Adore him,] From Psal. XCVII. 7. *Worship*
him, all ye Gods, that is all ye Angels; and so
 it is translated by the Seventy, and so it is cited
 by St. Paul, Heb. I. 6. *And let all the Angels*
of God worship him.

343. *Adore the Son, and honor him as me.]*

That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. John V. 23.

344. *No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, &c.]*
 The close of this divine colloquy, with the
 hymn of Angels that follows upon it, are so
 wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I
 should not forbear inserting the whole, if the
 bounds of my paper would give me leave.

Addison.

If the reader pleases to compare this divine
 dialogue with the speeches of the Gods in
 Homer and Virgil, he will find the Christian
 poet to transcend the Heathen, as much as the
 religion of the one surpasses that of the others.
 Their deities talk and act like men, but Mil-
 ton's divine Persons are divine Persons indeed,
 and talk in the language of God, that is in
 the language of Scripture. He is so very scru-
 pulous and exact in this particular, that per-
 haps

As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung
 With jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
 Th' eternal Regions: lowly reverent
 Tow'ards either throne they bow, and to the ground
 With solemn adoration down they cast 351
 Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold;
 Immortal amarant, a flow'r which once
 In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
 Began to bloom; but soon for man's offense 355
 To Heav'n remov'd, where first it grew, there grows,
 And flow'rs aloft shading the fount of life,
 And

haps there is not a single expression, which may not be justify'd by the authority of holy Writ. We have taken notice of several, where he seems to have copied the letter of Scripture, and the spirit of Scripture breathes in all the rest.

345. *The multitude of Angels, &c.*] The Construction is this, *All the multitude of Angels uttering joy with a shout loud as &c. Heav'n rung, &c.* where the first words are put in the ablative case absolutely. *Pearce.*

351. — *down they cast*

Their crowns] So they are represented Rev. IV. 10. *The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne.*

353. *Immortal amarant,*] *Amarant* Ἀμαραντὶς Greek, for unfading, that decayeth

not; a flower of a purple velvet color, which tho' gather'd, keeps its beauty, and when all other flowers fade, recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, Lib. 21. c. 11. Our author seems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. I. 4. *To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, ἀμαραντον:* and 1 Pet. V. 4. *Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away, ἀμαραντινον:* both relating to the name of his everlasting *amarant*, which he has finely set near the tree of life. *Amarantus flos, symbolum est immortalitatis.* Clem. Alexand.

Hume.

357. — *the fount of life, and river of bliss*] The abundant happiness and immortal joys of Heaven are in Scripture generally express'd by *the fountain of life and rivers of pleasure:* So, *Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures,*

And where the riv'er of blifs through midst of Heaven
 Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;
 With these that never fade the Spi'rits elect 360
 Bind their resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,
 Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
 Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,
 Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd.
 Then crown'd again, their golden harps they took, 365
 Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side
 Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet

Of

pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life,
 Psal. XXXVI. 8, 9. *For the Lamb which is in*
the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall
lead them unto living fountains of waters, Rev.
 VII. 17. and Rev. XXII. 1. *He showed me a*
pure river of water of life. Hume.

359. *Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber*
stream;] Dr. Bentley reads *Rolls o'er*
relucent gems &c. because (he says) it is not
 well conceiv'd that *flow'rs* grow at the bottom
 of a river. But (as Dr. Pearce replies) Mil-
 ton's words don't necessarily imply so much;
 the river might only sometimes *roll over* them,
 to water them. And yet (says Dr. Pearce) I
 am rather inclin'd to think, that the poet here
 by *over* means *through* or *among*. So Mr. Jor-
 tin understands *Rolls o'er* for *rolls through* or
by; and observes that Horace uses the verb *præ-*
terire in much the same manner, Od. IV.
 VII. 3.

— et decrefcentia ripas
 Flumina prætereunt,

roll by and within their banks. But if we un-
 derstand the passage as it is exprefs'd, there is
 no kind of absurdity in it; for we frequently
 fee grafs and weeds and flowers growing under
 water: and we may therefore fuppofe the
 fineft flowers to grow at the bottom of *the*
river of blifs, or rather the river to *roll over*
 them fometimes, to water them. The author
 feems to intend much the fame thing that he
 has exprefs'd in IV. 240. where fpeaking of the
 brooks in Paradife he fays they

Ran nectar, vifiting each plant, and fed
 Flow'rs worthy of Paradife.

And as there they are flow'rs *worthy of Para-*
dife, fo here they are worthy of *Elyfium*, the
 region of the Bleffed: and he makes ufe of
 the fame expreffion in his poem call'd L'Al-
 legro,

From

Of charming symphony they introduce
 Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
 No voice exempt, no voice but well could join 370
 Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.

Thee, Father, first they sung Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
 Fountain of light, thyself invisible 375
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitst
 Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st

The

From golden slumber on a bed
 Of heap'd *Elysian flow'rs*.

And then as to his calling it *amber stream*, it is only on account of its clearness and transparency, and not at all on account of its color, that he compares it to amber. The clearness of amber was proverbial among the Ancients; Callimachus in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has ἀλεχέμενον ὑδάρι; and in like manner Virgil says of a river, Geor. III. 522.

Purior electro campum petit amnis.

360. *With these that never fade*] Dr. Bentley reads *with this that never fades*, that is *amarant*. But *these* is right, and refers to *crowns* spoken of in ver. 352. all the intermediate verses being in a parenthesis. Milton alludes here to 1 Pet. V. 4. *Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away*. Pearce. Or perhaps *these* may more probably refer to *Elysian flow'rs*

mention'd in the verse preceding. It is more natural and easy, and agrees better with what follows, with their being *thrown off in loose garlands*, which it is better to understand of *flow'rs* than of *crowns*, which are themselves garlands: but then there must be no parenthesis, as there is none in Milton's own editions.

363. — *like a sea of jasper shone*,] Jasper is a precious stone of several colors, but the green is most esteem'd, and bears some similitude and resemblance to the sea.

372. *Thee, Father, first they sung &c.*] This hymn seems to be composed somewhat in the spirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the 8th book of the *Æneid*; but is as much superior as the subject of the one transcends that of the other.

377. *Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st*] The word *but* here is the same as *except, unless*; *inaccessible but when thou shad'st*, that is then

The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear, 380
 Yet dazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim
 Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
 Thee next they sang of all creation first,
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
 In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud 385
 Made visible, th'almighty Father shines,
 Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
 Impress'd th'effulgence of his glory' abides,
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.
 He Heav'n of Heav'ns and all the Pow'rs therein 390
 By thee created, and by thee threw down
 Th'aspiring

then only accessible, when thou shad'st &c.
 Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid says of
 Phoebus when his son Phaeton came to him,
 Met. II. 39.

— circum caput omne micantes
 Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere iussit.
 Pearce.

380. *Dark with excessive bright thy skirts
 appear,*] Milton has the same thought
 of darkness occasion'd by glory, V. 599.
Brightness had made invisible. This also ex-
 plains his meaning here; the excess of bright-

ness had the effect of darkness, invisibility.
 What an idea of glory! the skirts only not
 to be look'd on by the beings nearest to God,
 but when doubly or trebly shaded by a cloud
 and both wings. What then is the full blaze!

Richardson.

382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid Met. II. 22.

Constatque procul, neque enim propiora
 ferebat
 Lumina.

but with both wings veil their eyes. So they are
 represented in Isaiah's vision of the throne of
 God: *Above it stood the Seraphims; each one*
had

Th' aspiring Dominations: thou that day
 Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
 Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook
 Heav'n's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks 395
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarray'd.
 Back from pursuit thy Pow'rs with loud acclame
 Thee only' extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
 Not so on Man: Him through their malice fall'n, 400
 Father of mercy' and grace, thou didst not doom
 So strictly, but much more to pity' incline:
 No sooner did thy dear and only Son
 Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
 So strictly, but much more to pity' inclin'd, 405
 He

had six wings; with twain he cover'd his face,
 &c. Isa. VI. 2.

383. — *of all creation first,*] So in Col. I.
 15. *the first-born of every creature or of all cre-*
ation, *πρωτογενής*; and Rev. III. 14. *the be-*
ginning of the creation of God.

387. *Whom else no creature can behold;*] No
 creature can otherwise behold the Father but
 in and through the Son. *No man hath seen*
God at any time; the only begotten Son which is
in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him,
 John I. 18. *But He that hath seen me, hath*
seen the Father, John XIV. 9.

VOL. I.

398. *Thee only' extoll'd,*] We must not un-
 derstand it thus, Thy Powers returning from
 pursuit extoll'd, &c. but Thy Powers extoll'd
 thee returning from pursuit, and *thee only*;
 for he was the *sole victor*, all the rest *stood silent*
eye-witnesses of his almighty acts, VI. 880. &c.
 So perfectly doth this hymn of the good An-
 gels agree with the account given by Raphael
 in Book VI. and whenever mention is made
 of the good Angels joining in the pursuit, it
 is by the evil Angels, the reason of which see
 before in the note upon I. 169.

C c

406. He

He to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
 Of mercy' and justice in thy face discern'd,
 Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
 Second to thee, offer'd himself to die
 For Man's offense. O unexampled love, 410
 Love no where to be found less than Divine!
 Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy name
 Shall be the copious matter of my song
 Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise
 Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin. 415

Thus they in Heav'n, above the starry sphere,
 Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.
 Mean while upon the firm opacous globe

Of

406. *He to appease thy wrath,*] As an ingenious person observes, *than* or *but* must be understood before *He* to complete the sense. Such omissions are frequent in poetry, and this may have a beauty here, as it expresses the readiness of the Son to interpose on Man's behalf immediately upon perceiving the Father's gracious purpose.

412. *Hail Son of God,*] So in the conclusion of the hymn to Hercules mention'd before. *Æn.* VIII. 301.

Salve vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.

413. — *the copious matter of my song*] Dr. Bentley reads here *our song*; but why may not Milton take the liberty us'd in the ancient

chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used? Or it may be said that Milton speaks in his own person, or rather narrates than gives us the words as the words of the Angels. If we read it over, we shall see this plainly; *Thee first they sung*, ver. 372. and again, *Thee next they sang*, ver. 383; and this accounts for what Dr. Bentley objects to ver. 381. that *Seraphim* are mention'd. *Pearce.* It is to be noted that the ending of this hymn is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to return in future hymns.

Richardson.

418. *Mean*

Of this round world, whose first convex divides
 The luminous inferior orbs inclos'd 420
 From Chaos and th' inroad of Darknefs old,
 Satan alighted walks: a globe far off
 It seem'd, now seems a boundless continent
 Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
 Starless expos'd, and ever-threatning storms 425
 Of Chaos blust'ring round, inclement sky;
 Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven,
 Though distant far, some small reflection gains
 Of glimmering air less vex'd with tempest loud:
 Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field. 430
 As when a vultur on Imaus bred,

Whose

418. *Mean while upon the firm &c.*] Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe, which at a distance appeared to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble: as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between that mass of matter, which was wrought into a world, and that shapeless unformed heap of materials, which still lay in Chaos and confusion, strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great and wild.

Addison.

431. *As when a vultur &c.*] This simile is very apposite and lively, and corresponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from

Hell to Earth in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of this world's outermost orb, *a sea of land* as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vultur flying, in quest of his prey, tender lambs or kids new-yea'd, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and streams of India, but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner *a sea of land* too, the country being so smooth and open that carriages were driven (as travelers report) with sails and wind. *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Asia; its name signifies *snowy* in the language of the inhabitants according to Pliny, Lib. 6. cap. 21. *incolarum lingua nivofum* *significante;*

Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
 Dislodging from a region scarce of prey
 To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids
 On hills where flocks are fed, flies toward the springs
 Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams; 436
 But in his way lights on the barren plains Of

significante; and therefore it is said here *whose snowy ridge*. It is the boundary to the east of the Western Tartars, who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of pasturage, their herds of cattel and what they take in hunting being their principal subsistence. *Ganges* and *Hydaspes* are famous rivers of India; and *Serica* is a region betwixt China to the east and the mountain Imaus to the west: and what our author here says of the *Chineses*, he seems to have taken from Heylin's Cosmography, p. 867. where it is said, "Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses, in these parts." Our author supposes these carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing somewhat more probable. It may be thought the less incredible, as there was a man lately at Bath who attempted something of the same nature, and could really drive his machine without horses by the help of wind and sail upon Marlborough Downs, but it would not serve upon the road; it did well enough upon the plain, but he could not make it go up hill.

442. — *in this place*] I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the poet places upon the outermost surface of the universe, and shall here explain myself more at large on that, and other parts of the poem,

which are of the same shadowy nature. Aristotle observes, that the fable of an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing; or as the French critics choose to phrase it, the fable should be filled with the probable and the marvelous. This rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole art of poetry. If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true history; if it is only marvelous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret therefore of heroic poetry is to relate such circumstances, as may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment. This is brought to pass in a well-chosen fable, by the account of such things as have really happen'd, or at least of such things as have happen'd according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a master-piece of this nature; as the war in Heaven, the condition of the fallen Angels, the state of innocence, the temptation of the Serpent and the fall of Man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible, but actual points of faith. The next method of reconciling miracles with credibility, is by a happy invention of the poet; as in particular, when he introduces agents of a superior nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. Ulysses's ship being turned into a rock, and Æneas's fleet into a shoal of Water-nymphs, though they are very surprising accidents, are nevertheless

Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
 With sails and wind their cany waggons light :
 So on this windy sea of land, the Fiend 440
 Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey ;
 Alone, for other creature in this place
 Living or lifeless to be found was none ; None

nevertheless probable, when we are told that they were the Gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of machinery which fills the poems both of Homer and Virgil with such circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the reader the most pleasing passion that can rise in the mind of man, which is admiration. If there be any instance in the *Æneid* liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the third book, where *Æneas* is represented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. To qualify this wonderful circumstance, Polydorus tells a story from the root of the myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of the country having pierced him with spears and arrows, the wood which was left in his body took root in his wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding tree. This circumstance seems to have the marvelous without the probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes, without the interposition of any God, or other supernatural power capable of producing it. The spears and arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the modern help of an enchantment. If we look into the fiction of Milton's fable, though we find it full of surprising incidents, they are generally suited to our notions of the things and persons described, and tempered with a due measure of probability. I must only make an exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his episode of Sin and Death, and some of the

imaginary persons in his *Chaos*. These passages are astonishing, but not credible; the reader cannot so far impose upon himself, as to see a possibility in them; they are the description of dreams and shadows, not of things or persons. I know that many critics look upon the stories of *Circe*, *Polypheme*, the *Sirens*, nay the whole *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to be allegories; but allowing this to be true, they are fables, which considering the opinions of mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet, might possibly have been according to the letter. The persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the circumstances in which they are represented, might possibly have been truths and realities. This appearance of probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle observes the ancient tragic writers made use of the names of such great men as had actually lived in the world, tho' the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the subject more credible. In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an epic allegory, the plain literal sense ought to appear probable. The story should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration.

Addison.

443. — *lifeless*] Milton writes it *liveless*; but I conceive the word to be compounded of *less* and the substantive *life*, and not of the verb

None yet, but store hereafter from the earth
 Up hither like aerial vapors flew 445
 Of all things transitory' and vain, when sin
 With vanity had fill'd the works of men;
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
 Built their fond hopes of glory' or lasting fame,
 Or happiness in this or th' other life; 450
 All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
 Of painful superstition and blind zeal,
 Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find

Fit

verb *live*; *lifeless* without life, as *fearless* without fear, *listless* without list or desire, *peerless*, *rutblefs*, *shapeless*, &c.

444. *None yet*, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse and fifty four more which follow as an insertion of the editor; but I think there can be no doubt of their genuineness, whatever there may be of their goodness. Mr. Richardson thinks the Paradise of fools is finely imagin'd, but it must be own'd that it is formed more upon the taste of the Italian poets than of the Ancients.

457. — *and in vain*,] To wander in vain as commonly understood would be a weak expression, but it has the force of the Greek *ω-τως*, the Latin *frustrà*, *temerè*, *fortuito*, *nullo consilio*, at random. Richardson.

459. *Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have dream'd*;] Ariosto particularly, who in his Orlando Furioso, Cant. 34. St. 70,

&c. gives a much larger description of things lost upon earth and treasur'd up in the moon, than our poet here makes of the Limbo of Vanity. The reader may have a taste of it in the following stanza's of Harrington's translation,

A store-house strange, that what on earth is lost
 By fault, by time, by fortune, there is found,
 And like a merchandise is there ingross,
 In stranger sort than I can well expound:
 Nor speak I sole of wealth, or things of cost,
 In which blind fortune's pow'r doth most abound,
 But e'en of things quite out of fortune's pow'r,
 Which wilfully we waste each day and hour.

The precious time that fools mispend in play,
 The vain attempts that never take effect,
 The vows that sinners make and never pay,
 The counsels wise that careless men neglect,
 The fond desires that lead us oft astray,
 The praises that with pride the heart infect,

And

Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
 All th' unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand, 455
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd,
 Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
 Till final dissolution, wander here,
 Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have dream'd;
 Those argent fields more likely habitants, 460
 Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
 Betwixt th' angelical and human kind.
 Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born

First

And all we lose with folly and mispending,
 May there be found unto this place ascending.

And so he proceeds in enumerating other particulars, the vanity of titles, false flatteries, fond loves, great men's promises, court-services, death-bed alms, &c. and men's wits kept in jars like oil. Our late great English poet has likewise made fine use of this notion in his *Rape of the Lock*, Cant. 5. as indeed it seems to be fitter for a mock-heroic poem than for the true epic.

Some thought it mounted to the lunar sphere,
 Since all things lost on earth are treasur'd there.
 There hero's wits are kept in pond'rous vases,
 And beau's in snuff-boxes and tweezer-cases.
 There broken vows, and death-bed alms are
 found,
 And lover's hearts with ends of ribband bound,
 The courtier's promises, and sick man's pray'rs,
 The smiles of harlots, and the tears of heirs,

Cages for gnats, and chains to yoke a flea,
 Dry'd butterflies, and tomes of casuistry.

460. *Those argent fields &c.*] There is no question I believe now among philosophers, that the moon is inhabited; but it is greatly to be question'd whether this notion of our author be true, that the inhabitants there are *translated Saints* or *Spirits* of a middle nature between Angels and Men; for as the moon is certainly less considerable in itself than our earth, it is not likely that its inhabitants should be so much more considerable.

463. *Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born &c.*] He means *the sons of God* ill join'd with *the daughters of men*, alluding to that text of Scripture, Gen. VI. 4. *There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same became mighty men, which were of old,*
 men

First from the ancient world those giants came
 With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd: 465
 The builders next of Babel on the plain
 Of Sennaar, and still with vain design
 New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build:
 Others came single; he who to be deem'd
 A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames, 470
 Empedocles; and he who to enjoy

Plato's

men of renown: where by *the sons of God* some Fathers and Commentators have ridiculously understood *Angels*, as if the Angels had been enamour'd and married to women; but the true meaning is that the posterity of Seth and other patriarchs, who were worshippers of the true God, and therefore call'd *the sons of God*, intermarried with the idolatrous posterity of wicked Cain.

467. *Of Sennaar*,] Or Shinar, for they are both the same name of this province of Babylonia. But Milton follows the Vulgate as he frequently does in the names of places.

471. *Empedocles*,] The scholar of Pythagoras, a philosopher and poet, born at Agrigentum in Sicily: he wrote of the nature of things in Greek, as Lucretius did in Latin verse. He stealing one night from his followers threw himself into the flaming Ætna, that being no where to be found, he might be esteemed to be a God, and to be taken up into Heaven; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, discover'd his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. Hor de Art. Poet. 464.

——— Deus immortalis haberi

Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus
 Ætnam

Infiluit.

Hume.

473. *Cleombrotus*,] The name is rightly placed the last word in the sentence, as *Empedocles* was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happiness in another life, he was so ravish'd with the account of it, that he leap'd from a high wall into the sea, that he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams, Ep. 29. which we will subjoin with Frischlinus his translation.

Εἶπας ἤλπε χαίρει, Κλεομβροτὸν ὦμβρακιωτῆς,
 ἦλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς τευχῆς εἰς αἰδὸν.
 Ἄξιον ἔσθ' ἐν ἰδῶν θανάτῳ κακόν, ἀλλὰ Πλατωνος
 Ἐν τοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς γραμμῇ ἀναλεξαμένῳ.

Phoebe valeicens, de rupe Clembrotus alta
 Ambraciota, Stygis vivus adivit aquas.
 Funere nil dignum passus: solúmque Platonis
 De vita mentis perpete legit opus.

And

Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea,
 Cleombrotus; and many more too long,
 Embryo's and idiots, eremits and friers
 White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery. 475
 Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek
 In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven;
 And they who to be sure of Paradise
 Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,

Or

And from hence other authors seem to have taken his story, as Cicero Tusc. Disp. I. 34. Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum est: quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro se in mare abjecisse lecto Platonis libro: and Ovid Ibis. ver. 493.

Vel de præcipiti venias in Tartara saxo,
 Ut qui Socraticum de nece legit opus.

473. — *and many more too long,*] Poorly and deficiently express'd for, *and more too long to name.* Bentley. It seems as if a line were by mistake of the printer left out here; for (as Dr. Bentley says) it is *deficiently express'd*. Besides Milton had been mentioning those who *came single*; and therefore he could not fall upon the mention of *embryo's, idiots, hermits,* and *friers* without some other verse interpos'd, which should finish the account of those who *came single*, and contain a verb for the nominative cases *embryo's, idiots, &c.* which at present is wanting. Pearce.

A very ingenious person questions, whether Milton by this appearance of inaccuracy and

negligence did not design to express his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by hustling it all together in this disorder and confusion.

475. *White, black, and gray,*] So named according to their habits, white friers or Carmelites, black friers or Dominicans, gray friers or Franciscans, of their founders St. Francis, St. Dominic, and mount Carmel where that order pretend they were first instituted. Our author here, as elsewhere, shows his dislike and abhorrence of the church of Rome, by placing the religious orders *with all their trumpery*, cowls, hoods, reliques, beads, &c. in the Paradise of Fools, and not only placing them there, but making them the principal figures.

476. *Here pilgrims &c.*] Those who had gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to visit our Lord's sepulchre: but to such persons that may be said, which was to the women after his resurrection, Luke XXIV. 5, 6. *Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here but is risen;* to which text our author seems to allude in this passage.

Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd; 480
 They pass the planets sev'n, and pass the fix'd,
 And that crystallin sphere whose balance weighs
 The trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd;
 And now Saint Peter at Heav'n's wicket seems
 To wait them with his keys, and now at foot 485
 Of Heav'n's ascent they lift their feet, when lo
 A violent cross wind from either coast
 Blows them transverse ten thousand leagues awry
 Into the devious air; then might ye see
 Cowls, hoods, and habits with their wearers tost 490
 And flutter'd into rags, then reliques, beads,

In-

482. *And that crystallin sphere &c.*] He speaks here according to the ancient astronomy, adopted and improv'd by Ptolomy. *They pass the planets sev'n*, our planetary or solar system, *and beyond this pass the fix'd*, the firmament or sphere of the fix'd stars, *and beyond this that crystallin sphere*, the crystallin Heaven, clear as crystal, to which the Ptolemaics attributed a sort of libration or shaking (the *trepidation* so much talk'd of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, *and beyond this that first mov'd*, the primum mobile, the sphere which was both the first mov'd and the first mover, communicating its motions to all the lower spheres; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the

seat of God and the Angels. And when the poet mentions *Heav'n's wicket*, he does it the better to ridicule the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradise of Fools. This passage may receive some farther light and illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this crystallin and all the other spheres but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, Cant. 9. St. 60, 61.

Passa il foco, e la luce &c.

He pass'd the light, and shining fire assign'd
 The glorious seat of his selected crew,

The

Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
 The sport of winds: all these upwhirl'd aloft
 Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
 Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd 495
 The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
 Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
 All this dark globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,
 And long he wander'd, till at last a gleam
 Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste 500
 His travel'd steps: far distant he descries
 Ascending by degrees magnificent
 Up to the wall of Heav'n a structure high;

At

The mover first, and circle crystalline,
 The firmament where fixed stars all shine.

61.

Unlike in working then in shape and show,
 At his left hand, Saturn he left and Jove,
 And those untruly errant call'd I trow,
 Since he errs not who them doth guide and
 move. Fairfax.

489. — *then might ye see*] This is one of the passages which furnishes Dr. Bentley here with objections against fifty-five verses of Milton. To the words *might ye see* he says, how could any one of his readers *see* them, unless he is himself suppos'd a *fool*? But was not Satan there? and he is no fool in this poem: it is one thing to be there as an inhabitant, and

another as a spectator. Milton means if any body was present there so as to be able to see what pass'd, he would see *cows*, *hoods*, &c. It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers; *Then might you see* is no more than *Then might be seen*. See Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 676. Pearce.

493. *The sport of winds:*] *Ludibria ventis.* Virg. *Æn.* VI. 75.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,*] The *Limbus patrum* as it is call'd, is a place that the Schoolmen supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Hell, where the souls of the patriarchs were detain'd, and those good men who died before our Saviour's resurrection. Our author gives the same name to his Paradise of Fools,

At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd
 The work as of a kingly palace gate, 505
 With frontispiece of diamond and gold
 Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems
 The portal shone, inimitable on earth
 By model, or by shading pencil drawn.
 The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw 510
 Angels ascending and descending, bands
 Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
 To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
 Dreaming by night under the open sky,

And

Fools, and more rationally places it beyond
the backside of the world.

506. *With frontispiece of diamond and gold*
 Imitated from Ovid, Met. II. 1.

Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
 Clara micante auro, flammisque imitante py-
 ropo.

The sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,
 With burnish'd gold and flaming jewels blaz'd.
 Addison.

507. — *with sparkling orient gems*] Dr. Bentley would read *ardent* gems, because *orient* is proper to say upon earth only: but *sparkling* and *ardent* are too near akin to be both used together, and since (as the Doctor allows) the best gems come from the East Indies, it may be allow'd to Milton to mean by *orient* gems no more than the *best* and *most precious* ones.

Milton very frequently uses the word *orient* in such a sense as this, and Dr. Bentley generally corrects it, tho' he has made no objection to the expression in I. 546.

With *orient* colors waving.

Poets, who write of things out of this world, must use epithets and metaphors drawn from things in this world, if they would make themselves understood. Pearce.

510. *The stairs*, the degrees mention'd before, ver. 502. *were such as whereon Jacob saw &c.*] A comparison fetch'd from Gen. XXVIII. 12, 13. *And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven, and behold the Angels of God ascending and descending on it; and behold the Lord stood above it. &c.* But this line

And waking cry'd, This is the gate of Heaven. 515

Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood

There always, but drawn up to Heav'n sometimes

Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd

Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon

Who after came from earth, sailing arriv'd 520

Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake

Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.

The stairs were then let down, whether to dare

The Fiend by easy' ascent, or aggravate

His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss: 525

Direct

To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz,

must not be understood as if *Padan-Aram* was in the field of *Luz*; but he was flying to *Padan-Aram* or the country of *Aram*, that is *Syria*; and by the way rested and dreamed this dream in the field of *Luz*, for so the adjoining city was called at the first; Jacob upon this occasion gave it the name of *Bethel*, by which it was better known afterwards. The passage was wrong pointed in all the editions, for there should be no comma after *Luz*: the comma should be after *Padan-Aram*, in the field of *Luz* being to be join'd on to *dreaming* in the next verse.

518. — *and underneath a bright sea flow'd*] The author himself explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of *the water above the firmament*. He mentions it again VII. 619. *Heylin*.

521. *Wafted by Angels, &c.*] As *Lazarus* was carried by *Angels*, Luke XVI. 22; and *Elijah* was rapt up in a chariot of fire and horses of fire, 2 Kings II. 11.

525. — *doors*] Milton writes this word *dore* and *dores* except only in one instance in I. 504. of the second edition, which he alter'd from the first edition: but the other approaches nearer in sound to the original word, if it be deriv'd from the Saxon *duru*, the German *dure*, *dura*, *tura*; and all as *Junius* says from the Greek *θυρα*, janua. And yet I think we commonly pronounce it *dore* tho' we constantly write it *door*. But in all such cases we want an advantage, that the French have enjoy'd, of an Academy to fix and settle our language. Some proposals were made for erecting such an Academy to the Lord Treasurer Oxford at the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne; and

Direct against which open'd from beneath,
 Just o'er the blissful seat of Paradise,
 A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,
 Wider by far than that of after-times
 Over mount Sion, and, though that were large, 530
 Over the Promis'd Land to God so dear,
 By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,
 On high behests his Angels to and fro
 Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard
 From Paneas the fount of Jordan's flood 535
 To Beërsaba, where the Holy Land
 Borders on Egypt and th' Arabian shore;
 So wide the opening seem'd, where bounds were set
 To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.
 Satan from hence, now on the lower stair 540
 That

and it is a pity they were never carried into execution.

534. ——— *and his eye with choice regard*] Dr. Pearce thinks that after *regard* a verse seems to be wanting to describe what *his eye* did *with choice regard*: but it may be understood thus, his eye *pass'd frequent*, as well as his Angels to and fro on high behests or commands, and survey'd *from Paneas*, a city at the foot of a mountain of the same name, part of mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its source, to *Beërsaba* or Beersheba, that is the

whole extent of the Promis'd Land from Paneas in the north to Beersaba in the south, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus express'd in Scripture, *from Dan even unto Beersheba*, Dan at the northern and Beersheba at the southern extremity; and the city that was called *Dan* was afterwards named *Paneas*. *So wide the opening seem'd*, that is so wide as I have represented it, wider than the passage over mount Sion and the Promis'd Land; *So wide the opening seem'd*, where the same

That scal'd by steps of gold to Heaven gate,
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
 Of all this world at once. As when a scout
 Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
 All night, at last by break of chearful dawn 545
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
 Which to his eye discovers unaware
 The goodly prospect of some foreign land
 First seen, or some renown'd metropolis
 With glist'ring spires and pinnacles adorn'd, 550
 Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams:
 Such wonder seis'd, though after Heaven seen,
 The Spi'rit malign, but much more envy seis'd,
 At sight of all this world beheld so fair.
 Round he surveys (and well might, where he stood 555
 So

same divine power fixed the limits of darkness, that said to the proud ocean *Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther.*

540. *Satan from hence, &c.*] Satan, after having long wander'd upon the surface, or outmost wall of the universe, discovers at last a wide gap in it, which led into the creation, and is described as the opening through which the Angels pass to and fro into the lower world upon their errands to mankind. His sitting upon the brink of this passage, and taking a survey of the whole face of nature

that appeared to him new and fresh in all its beauties, with the simile illustrating this circumstance, fills the mind of the reader with as surprising and glorious an idea as any that arises in the whole poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the universe, with the eye, or (as Milton calls it) with the ken of an Angel. He surveys all the wonders in this immense amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of Heaven, and takes in at one view the whole round of the creation. *Addison.*

555. *Round he surveys &c.*] Satan is here represented

So high above the circling canopy
 Of night's extended shade) from eastern point
 Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
 Beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole 560
 He views in breadth, and without longer pause
 Down right into the worlds first region throws
 His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
 Through

presented as taking a view of the whole creation from east to west, and then from north to south; but poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner. *Round he surveys, as well he might in his present situation, so high above the circling canopy of night's extended shade.* Dr. Bentley objects to the expression of *circling canopy*, when the shade of night must needs be a *cone*: but as Dr. Pearce replies, to Satan who look'd down upon it from such an highth, it appear'd not a *cone* as it really was, but a *circle*. In this situation then *he surveys from eastern point of Libra*, one of the twelve signs exactly opposit to Aries, *to the fleecy star*, Aries or the Ram, that is from east to west, for when Libra rises in the east, Aries sets full west; and Aries is said to *bear Andromeda*, because that constellation represented as a woman is placed just over Aries, and therefore when Aries sets he seems to bear Andromeda *far off Atlantic seas*, the great western ocean, *beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole he views in breadth*, that is from north to south, and that is said to be *in breadth*,

because the Ancients knowing more of the earth from east to west than from north to south, and so having a much greater journey one way than the other, one was called length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. It is fine, as it is natural, to represent Satan as taking a view of the world before he threw himself into it.

562. *Downright into the world's &c.*] Satan after having survey'd the whole creation, immediately *without longer pause* throws himself into it, and is describ'd as making two different motions. At first he drops down perpendicularly some way into it, *downright into the world's first region throws his flight precipitant*, and afterwards *winds his oblique way*, turns and winds this way and that, if he might any where espy the seat of Man; for tho' in ver. 527 it is said that the passage was *just over Paradise*, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore as it was natural for him to do, winds about in search of it *through the pure marble air*. The first epithet *pure* determines the sense of the second, and shows why the air is

Through the pure marble air his oblique way
 Amongst innumerable stars, that shone 565
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seem'd other worlds;
 Or other worlds they seem'd, or happy iles,
 Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old,
 Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow'ry vales,
 Thrice happy iles, but who dwelt happy there 570
 He stay'd not to inquire: above them all

The

is compared to *marble*, namely for its clearness and whiteness without any regard to its hardness: and the word *marmor*, *marble*, is derived from a Greek word *μαρμαίρω* that signifies to shine and glister. And as Milton uses the expression of the *marble air*, so Virgil does likewise of the *marble sea*, Georg. I. 254.

Et quando infidum remis impellere *marmor*
 Conveniat:

And Æn. VI. 729.

Et quæ *marmoreo* fert monstra sub æquore
 pontus:

And elsewhere he calls Orpheus's neck *marble*,
 Georg. IV. 523.

Tum quoque *marmorea* caput a cervice revul-
 sum.

And Ovid in like manner speaks of Narcissus
 his *marble hands*, Met. III. 481.

Nudaque *marmoreis* percussit pectora palmis.

VOL. I.

And a famous poet of our own (Waller) has said in his verses upon his mistresses passing through a croud of people;

The yielding *marble* of a snowy breast.

And what is nearer to our purpose, Othello in Shakespear is represented as swearing Act III.

— Now by yond *marble* Heaven.

It is common with the Ancients, and those who write in the spirit and manner of the Ancients, in their metaphors and simile's, if they agree in the main circumstance, to have no regard to lesser particulars.

565. — *that shone*
Stars distant,] They appeared by their shining to be stars. 'Tis a Greek expression, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella preserved by Diogenes Laertius. *You shone whilst living a morning star, but dead you now shine Hesperus among the shades.* Richardson.

568. *Like those Hesperian gardens*] So call'd
 E e of

The golden sun in splendor likest Heaven
 Allur'd his eye: thither his course he bends
 Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
 By center, or eccentric, hard to tell, 575
 Or longitude,) where the great luminary
 Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
 That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
 Dispenses light from far; they as they move
 Their starry dance in numbers that compute 580
 Days months and years, towards his all-cheering lamp
 Turn

of *Hesperus*, *Vesper*, because placed in the west under the evening star. Those famous gardens were the iles about Cape Verd in Africa, whose most western point is still call'd *Hesperium cornu*. Others will have 'em the Canaries. *Hume*.

573. — *thither his course he bends* &c.] His flight between the several worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular description of the sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination. His shape, speech, and behaviour upon his transforming himself into an Angel of light, are touch'd with exquisite beauty. The poet's thought of directing Satan to the sun, which in the vulgar opinion of mankind is the most conspicuous part of the creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a circumstance finely contrived, and the more adjusted to a poetical

probability, as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers, that every orb had its *Intelligence*, and as an Apostle in sacred Writ is said to have seen such an Angel in the sun. *Addison*.

574. — (*but up or down, By center, or eccentric, hard to tell, Or longitude,*)] These words (as Dr. Pearce observes) should be included in a parenthesis, and then the construction of the rest will be plain and easy. Satan had now passed the fix'd stars, and was directing his course towards the sun; but it is hard to tell (says the poet) whether his course was *up or down*, that is north or south, for so *up and down* signifies in IX. 78 and X. 675, the north being uppermost in our globes,

— hic

Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd
 By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
 The universe, and to each inward part
 With gentle penetration, though unseen, 585
 Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;
 So wondrously was set his station bright.
 There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
 Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb
 Through his glaz'd optic tube yet never saw. 590
 The place he found beyond expression bright,

Compar'd

— hic vertex nobis semper sublimis:

Virg. Georg. I. 242.

or whether it was *by center, or eccentric*, towards the center, or from the center, it not being determin'd whether the sun is the center of the world or not; or whether it was *by longitude*, that is in length, east or west, as appears from IV. 539. and VII. 373.

580. — *in numbers*] That is in measures.

Richardson.

586. *Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;*] Dr. Bentley says *invisible* makes mere tautology with *though unseen*; but I think not; the words *though unseen* relate to *penetration*, and *invisible* is the epithet to *virtue*, which is a distinct thing from the *penetration* before mention'd, and which might have been visible, though the other was not so. But the Doctor

says that *invisible* spoils the measure of the verse. Milton seems to have thought this no blemish to his poem, for he frequently in the beginning of a verse chooses this artificial negligence of measure: So in II. 302, 880. III. 358. XI. 79, 377. There is no need therefore of reading with Dr. Bentley *Shoots vital virtue, &c.* Pearce. The number of syllables in this verse seems not ill contriv'd to express the depth to which the sun's beams penetrated.

590. *Through his glaz'd optic tube*] The spots in the sun are visible with a telescope: but astronomer perhaps never yet saw *through his glaz'd optic tube*, that is his telescope, such a spot as Satan now he was in the sun's orb. The poet mentions this glass the oftner in honor of Galileo, whom he means here by the *astronomer*.

E e 2

592. — *metal*

Compar'd with ought on earth, metal or stone;
 Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
 With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire;
 If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear; 595
 If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,
 Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone
 In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides
 Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen,
 That

592. — *metal or stone*;] In the first editions it is *medal or stone*, and Mr. Richardson justifies it, as the repetition of the same word immediately after is avoided: but for that very reason it appears that this is an error of the press, and that it ought to be read *metal or stone*, as both *metal* and *stone* are repeated afterwards; ver. 595. *If metal*, so and so; and ver. 596. *If stone*, so and so.

593. *Not all parts like, &c.*] Ovid has given us a description of the palace of the sun, but few have described the sun himself: and I know not whether our author has shown more fancy or more judgment in the description. An ordinary poet would in all probability have insisted chiefly upon its excessive heat; but that was nothing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of Hell; and therefore Milton judiciously omits it, and enlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones which abounded therein, and by these means exhibits a pleasing picture instead of a disagreeable one.

597. — *to the twelve that shone &c.*] A friend of Dr. Pearce's observing that *carbuncle*

and *topaz* were two of the twelve stones plac'd in Aaron's breast-plate, thinks that Milton wrote

Ruby or topaz, *two o'th' twelve* that shone, &c.

o'th' for *of the* is not unfrequent in Milton: in XI. 432. we read *i'th' midst*, and in the *Mask Queen o'th' wood*. But it is not very likely that the poet should say *two o'th' twelve*, and not intend the two last mention'd of the four, but the first and the last. And there is very good reason to think that not *two* only, but *four* of the twelve stones in Aaron's breast-plate are here mention'd. For what we translate the *sardius*, Exod. XXVIII. 17. is render'd in the margin of our Bibles the *ruby*: and what we call the *beryl*, Exod. XXVIII. 20. the *Seventy*, the Vulgate, and most of the versions, and Josephus, and many others take for a *chrysolite*. This alteration therefore of Dr. Pearce's friend cannot be admitted, and Mr. Fenton's reading is much worse, *or the twelve*, which cannot be said after some of the twelve have been already mention'd. The passage may be understood thus without any alteration, Ruby or

That stone, or like to that which here below 600
 Philosophers in vain so long have fought,
 In vain, though by their pow'rful art they bind
 Volatil Hermes, and call up unbound
 In various shapes old Proteus from the sea,
 Drain'd through a limbec to his native form. 605
 What wonder then if fields and regions here
 Breathe forth Elixir pure, and rivers run

Potable

or topaz to the twelve, that is, *and all the rest reckoning to the twelve*, that shone in Aaron's breast-plate. The poet had particularly mention'd some of the stones in Aaron's breast-plate, and now he includes all the rest *to the number twelve*. Such a concise manner of speaking is not unusual with our author.

602. — *though by their pow'rful art they bind &c.*] Tho' by their powerful art they bind and fix quicksilver, and change their matter, unbound, unfix'd, into as many various shapes as Proteus, till it be reduced at last to its first original form. *Hermes*, another word for Mercury or quicksilver, which is very fluid, and volatil, and hard to be fixed. *Proteus*, a Sea-God, who could transform himself into various shapes, till being closely press'd he return'd to his own proper form. By this the Ancients understood the first principle of things and the subject matter of nature; and our poet therefore very fitly employs this metaphor or similitude to express the matter, which the chemists make experiments upon thro' all its mutations, and which they

drain thro' their limbecs or stills, till it resume its native and original form.

606. *What wonder then &c.*] And if chemists can do so much, what wonder then if in the sun itself is the true philosopher's stone, the grand Elixir, and rivers of liquid gold; when the sun, the chief of chemists, tho' at so great a distance, can perform such wonders upon earth, and produce so many precious things? The thought of making the sun the chief chemist or alchemist seems to be taken from Shakespear, King John, Act. III.

To solemnize this day, the glorious sun
 Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist,
 Turning with splendor of his precious eye
 The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold.

606. — *and regions here*] Dr. Bentley reads *there* in this place and two others which follow in the next page: but is it likely that the same mistake should creep into three different places? Is it not more probable that Milton speaking of the sun said *here*, because he was then describing it, and expressing its nature? This is poetical and common with Milton, as
 may

Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
 Th' arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,
 Produces, with terrestrial humor mix'd, 610
 Here in the dark so many precious things
 Of color glorious and effect so rare?
 Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
 Undazled; far and wide his eye commands;
 For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade, 615
 But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon
 Culminate from th' equator, as they now
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
 Shadow from body' opaque can fall; and th' air,
 No where so clear, sharpend his visual ray 620
 To objects distant far, whereby he soon

Saw

may be seen in many instances. See my note on II. 362. where I show that Milton frequently uses the word *here*, not meaning thereby a place present to him when he is speaking, but that place only which he is then speaking of. *Pearce.*

616. — *as when his beams at noon*

Culminate from th' equator, as they now

Shot upward still direct,] The first *as* is used by way of similitude, in the sense of *like as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, like *as when his beams at noon culminate from*

th' equator, that is are vertical and shoot directly from the equator, which is the reason why those who live under the equator, under the line, are called *Ascii*, and at noon cast no shadows. The other *as* is used by way of reason, in the sense of *for as much as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, for as much as *his beams shot now directly upward.*

623. *The same whom John saw also in the sun:] And I saw an Angel standing in the sun.* Rev. XIX. 17.

625. — *a golden tiar]* A golden coronet of

Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
 The same whom John saw also in the sun:
 His back was turn'd, but not his brightness hid;
 Of beaming funny rays a golden tiar 625
 Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
 Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings
 Lay waving round; on some great charge employ'd
 He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.
 Glad was the Spi'rit impure, as now in hope 630
 To find who might direct his wand'ring flight
 To Paradise the happy seat of Man,
 His journey's end and our beginning woe.
 But first he casts to change his proper shape,
 Which else might work him danger or delay: 635
 And

of shining rays circled his head, yet nevertheless did not hinder his lovely locks, that hung behind over his shoulders adorn'd with wings, from waving themselves into curls and rings. *Tiar* of *Tiara*, the Persian word for a round cap, high and ending in a point, the usual covering and ornament the eastern princes wore on their heads. *Hume.*

627. — *fledge with wings*] We now commonly say *fledg'd*, but our author uses *fledge* again in VII. 420. *but feather'd soon and fledge &c.* He prefers it doubtless as of a softer

found; and there are several such words that want mollifying in our language.

628. — *employ'd*] Milton constantly spells this word *imploy'd*, but the French word from whence it is deriv'd is *employer*.

634. *But first he casts &c.*] He considers. The metaphor seems to be taken from casting the eye around every way. Spenser has the same expression, *Fairy Queen*, B. I. Cant. 11. St. 40.

He

And now a stripling Cherub he appears,
 Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
 Youth smil'd celestial, and to every limb
 Suitable grace diffus'd, so well he feign'd:
 Under a coronet his flowing hair 640
 In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore
 Of many a color'd plume sprinkled with gold,
 His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
 Before his decent steps a silver wand.
 He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright, 645
 Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn'd,
 Admonish'd by his ear, and strait was known
 Th' Arch-Angel Uriël, one of the seven
 Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
 Stand

He cast at once him to avenge for all.
 And Milton himself again, XII. 43.

Richardson.

636. — *a stripling Cherub*] The evil Spirit,
 the better to disguise his purpose, assumes the
 appearance of a stripling Cherub, not of one
 of those of the prime order and dignity, for
 such could not so well be supposed to be igno-
 rant of what Satan wanted now to be inform'd.
 And a finer picture of a young Angel could
 not be drawn by the pencil of Raphael than by
 the pen of Milton. In Tasso likewise, when

the Angel Gabriel is sent to rouse the Christian
 army, he appears as a stripling, Cant. 1. St. 13.

Tra giovane, e fanciullo età confine
 Prese, et ornò di raggi il biondo crine.
 A stripling seem'd he thrice five winters old,
 And radiant beams adorn'd his locks of gold.
 Fairfax.

But there doth not seem to be any particular
 reason for it in that place, as there is in the
 passage before us.

643. *His habit fit for speed succinct,*] If the
 author meant that Satan had clothes on as well
 as

Stand ready at command, and are his eyes 650
 That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th' Earth
 Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
 O'er sea and land: him Satan thus accosts.

Uriel, for thou of those sev'n Spi'rits that stand
 In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright, 655
 The first art wont his great authentic will
 Interpreter through highest Heav'n to bring,
 Where all his sons thy embassy attend;
 And here art likeliest by supreme decree
 Like honor to obtain, and as his eye 660
 To visit oft this new creation round;
 Unspeakable desire to see, and know
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
 His

as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of representing the Angels; but I rather understand it that the *wings he wore* were *his habit*, and they were certainly a habit *fit for speed succinct*, but *succinct* I understand with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense *girded* or *tuck'd up*; but in the metaphorical sense, *ready* and *prepar'd*; as Fabius in Inst. Orat. II. 2. says *Proni succinctique &c.*

650. — and are his eyes &c.] An expression borrow'd from Zech. IV. 10. *Those seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.* The Jews there-

VOL. I.

fore believed there were *seven* principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders as it were of the heavenly host. See Tobit XII. 15. Rev. I. 4. V. 6. VIII. 2.

654. Uriel,] His name is derived from two Hebrew words which signify *God is my light*. He is mention'd as a good Angel in the second book of Esdras, chapters 4 and 5; and the Jews and some Christians conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has properly his station in the sun.

663. — but chiefly Man,
 His chief delight and favor, him for whom &c.]

F f

Dr.

His chief delight and favor, him for whom
 All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd, 665
 Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
 Alone thus wand'ring. Brightest Seraph, tell
 In which of all these shining orbs hath Man
 His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
 But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell ; 670
 That I may find him, and with secret gaze
 Or open admiration him behold,
 On whom the great Creator hath bestow'd
 Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces pour'd ;
 That both in him and all things, as is meet, 675
 The universal Maker we may praise ;
 Who justly hath driv'n out his rebel foes
 To deepest Hell, and to repair that loss

Created

Dr. Bentley reads *and favourite whom*, and says that *Man his chief favor* is not English. But, as Dr. Pearce replies, by *favor* surely may be meant the object of his favor ; as by *delight* is plainly meant not his delight itself, but the object of his delight. And as Mr. Upton observes, it is only using the abstract for the concrete. So Terence uses *scelus*

for *scelestus*, Andria, Act. V. *Scelus quem hic laudat*. And Virgil, Æn. V. 541.

Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori :

honori is the honorable person, *prælato* which was preferr'd before him.

678. — *that loss*] This is Milton's own reading

Created this new happy race of Men
To serve him better: wise are all his ways. 680

So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd;
For neither Man nor Angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only' evil that walks
Invisible, except to God alone,
By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth: 685
And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
At wisdom's gate, and to simplicity
Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems: Which now for once beguil'd
Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held 690
The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in Heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impostor foul
In his uprightness answer thus return'd.

Fair

reading in both his editions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton read not so well *their loss*.

683. *Hypocrisy*, &c.] What is said here of hypocrisy is censur'd as a digression, but it seems no more than is absolutely necessary; for otherwise it might be thought very strange, that the evil Spirit should pass undiscover'd by

the Arch-Angel Uriel, the regent of the sun, and the sharpest-sighted Spirit in Heaven, and therefore the poet endeavors to account for it by saying, that hypocrisy cannot be discern'd by Man or Angel, it is invisible to all but God, &c. But yet the evil Spirit did not pass wholly undiscover'd, for though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found rea-

Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know
 The works of God, thereby to glorify 695
 The great Work-Master, leads to no excess
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
 The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
 From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,
 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps 700
 Contented with report hear only' in Heaven:
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
 Had in remembrance always with delight;
 But what created mind can comprehend 705
 Their number, or the wisdom infinite

That

son to suspect him afterwards from his furious gestures in the mount.

694. *Fair Angel, &c.*] In the answer which this Angel returns to the disguis'd evil Spirit, there is such a becoming majesty as is altogether suitable to a superior being. The part of it, in which he represents himself as present at the creation, is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the reader for what follows in the seventh book. In the following part of the speech he points out the earth with

such circumstances, that the reader can scarce forbear fancying himself employ'd on the same distant view of it. *Addison.*

715. *The cumbrous elements,*] Even air and fire are so in comparison of the ethereal quintessence, celestial fire, or pure spirit.

Richardson.

716. *And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven*] The four elements hasted to their quarters, but this fifth essence flew upward. It should be *this*, as it is in Milton's own editions: and not *the ethereal quintessence*, as it is in Bentley's,

That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
 I saw when at his word the formless mass,
 This world's material mold, came to a heap:
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar 710
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung:
 Swift to their several quarters hasted then
 The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire; 715
 And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven
 Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
 That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars
 Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
 Each

ley's, Fenton's, and some other editions. For the Angel who speaks is in the sun, and therefore says *this*, as the sun was a part of this ethereal quintessence. And this notion our author borrow'd from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: *εἶναι δὲ πᾶρα τα τεσσαρα σοιχεια, και αλλο περιπλον, εξ 8 τα αιθερα συνεσαναι' αλλοιαν δ' αυτες την κινησιν ειναι, κυκλοφορικην γαρ*: which are the very

words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristotle; and it would be easy to make a parade of learning and multiply quotations, but this is authority sufficient to justify our author. These stars are *numberless, as thou seest*, (says the Angel) *and seest how they move*; and the rest of this fifth essence that is not formed into stars surrounds and like a wall incloses the universe. Lucret. V. 470.

Et latè diffusus in omnes undique partes
 Omnia sic avido complexu cætera sepfit.

Each had his place appointed, each his course; 720
The rest in circuit walls this universe.

Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
With light from hence, though but reflected, shines;

That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light
His day, which else as th' other hemisphere 725

Night would invade; but there the neighb'ring moon
(So call that opposit fair star) her aid

Timely' interposes, and her monthly round
Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heaven,

With borrow'd light her countenance triform 730
Hence fills and empties to inlighten th' Earth,

And in her pale dominion checks the night.

That spot to which I point is Paradise,
Adam's abode, those lofty shades his bower.

Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires. 735

Thus said, he turn'd; and Satan bowing low,
As to superior Spi'rits is wont in Heaven,
Where honor due and reverence none neglects,
Took

730. ——— *her countenance triform*] In-creasing with horns towards the west, and at
creasing with horns towards the east, de-the full.

Took leave, and tow'ard the coast of earth beneath,
 Down from th' ecliptic, sped with hop'd success, 740
 Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
 Nor stay'd, till on Niphates top he lights.

741. — *in many an aery wheel,*] This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy, that he was now so near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the Angel Uriel afterwards in IV. 567.

—— I describ'd his way,
 Bent on all speed, and mark'd his aery gate.
 So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together.

742. — *on Niphates top he lights.*] A mountain in the borders of Armenia, not far from the spring of Tigris, as Xenophon affirms

upon his own knowledge. The poet lands Satan on this mountain, because it borders on Mesopotamia, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it. *Hume.*

I must not conclude my reflections upon this third book of Paradise Lost, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the praises that have been given it; tho' as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as excrescence, than as an essential part of the poem. The same observation might be apply'd to that beautiful digression upon hypocrisy, in the same book.

Addison.

The end of the Third Book.





J. Flayman inv. et delin.

C. Grignion Sculp.

THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

VOL. I.

G g

T H E A R G U M E N T.

Satan now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described, overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden describ'd; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation, by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Mean while Uriel descending on a sun-beam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escap'd the deep, and pass'd at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower describ'd; their evening worship. Gabriel drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom question'd, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hinder'd by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.

PARADISE LOST.

B O O K IV.

O For that warning voice, which he who saw
Th' Apocalyps heard cry in Heav'n aloud,
Then

Those, who know how many volumes have been written on the poems of Homer and Virgil, will easily pardon the length of my discourse upon Milton. The *Paradise Lost* is looked upon, by the best judges, as the greatest production, or at least the noblest work of genius in our language, and therefore deserves to be set before an English reader in its full beauty. For this reason, tho' I have endeavor'd to give a general idea of its graces and imperfections in my six first papers, I thought myself obliged to bestow one upon every book in particular. The three first books I have already dispatched, and am now entering upon the fourth. I need not acquaint my reader that there are multitudes of beauties in this great author, especially in the descriptive parts of his poem, which I have not touched upon, it being my intention to point out those only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary readers. Every one that has read the critics who have written upon the *Odyssy*, the *Iliad*, and the *Æneid*, knows very well, that though they agree in their opinions of the great beauties in those poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several master-strokes, which have escaped the observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not, but any writer who shall treat of this subject after me,

may find several beauties in Milton, which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe, that as the greatest masters of critical learning differ among one another, as to some particular points in an epic poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to the rules which any one of them has laid down upon that art, but have taken the liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the reason of the thing was on my side. *Addison.*

1. *O for that warning voice, &c.*] The poet opens this book with a wish in the manner of Shakespear, *O for a Muse of fire &c.* Prolog. to *Henry V.* *O for a falkner's voice &c.* *Romeo and Juliet*, Act. II. and in order to raise the horror and attention of his reader, introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth by wishing that the same warning voice had been utter'd now at Satan's first coming, that St. John, who in a vision saw the *Apocalyps* or *Revelation* of the most remarkable events which were to befall the Christian Church to the end of the world, heard when the Dragon (*that old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan*) was put to second rout. Rev. XII. 12. *Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath.*

Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
 Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,
Woe to th' inhabitants on earth! that now, 5
 While time was, our first parents had been warn'd
 The coming of their secret foe, and scap'd,
 Haply so scap'd his mortal snare: for now
 Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,
 The tempter ere th' accuser of man-kind, 10
 To wreck on innocent frail man his loss
 Of that first battel, and his flight to Hell:
 Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold
 Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,
 Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth 15
 Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,
 And like a devilish engin back recoils

Upon

10. — *th' accuser of man-kind,*] As he is represented in that same chapter of the Revelation, which the poet is still alluding to. *For the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night,* ver. 10.

24. — *the memory*
Of what he was, what is, and what must be]
 Dr. Bentley reads *theory* instead of *memory*: because he does not understand what is the *memory* of a thing present or future. But if the

Doctor will allow that it is sense to say *μνησθαι* *αυτοων*, or *remember that you must die*, we may keep the word *memory* here, and prefer it to his *theory*. Memory is *recordatio*, or the thinking and reflecting upon any thing, as well present and future as past. *Pearce.*

Thus Virgil says of his bees, that *remembering the winter coming on* they lay by provisions in the summer, Georg. IV. 156.

*Venturæque hyemis memores æstate laborem
 Experiuntur, et in medium quæsitæ reponunt.*

30. — *meridian*

Upon himself; horror and doubt distract
 His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
 The Hell within him; for within him Hell 20
 He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
 One step no more than from himself can fly
 By change of place: now conscience wakes despair
 That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
 Of what he was, what is, and what must be 25
 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
 Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view
 Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixes sad;
 Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing sun,
 Which now sat high in his meridian tower: 30
 Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.

O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,
 Look'st

30. — *meridian tower* :] At noon the sun is lifted up as in a tower. The metaphor is used by Virgil in his *Culex*, ver. 41.

Ignæus æthereas jam sol penetrârat in arces.

Spenser in his admirable translation of that poem has follow'd him punctually.

The fiery sun was mounted now on highth
 Up to the heav'nly tow'rs. *Richardson.*

32. *O thou &c.*] Satan being now within

prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discover'd while he was in Hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is soften'd with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation: but at length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own state of guilt and misery. This

Look'ft from thy fole dominion like the God
 Of this new world; at whose fight all the ftars
 Hide their diminifh'd heads; to thee I call, 35
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
 O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
 That bring to my remembrance from what ftate
 I fell, how glorious once above thy fphere;
 Till pride and worfe ambition threw me down 40
 Warring in Heav'n againft Heav'n's matchlefs king:
 Ah wherefore! he deferv'd no fuch return
 From me, whom he created what I was
 In that bright eminence, and with his good
 Upbraided none; nor was his fervice hard. 45
 What could be lefs than to afford him praife,
 The

This conflict of paffions is raifed with a great deal of art, as the opening of his fpeech to the fun is very bold and noble. This fpeech is, I think, the fineft that is afcribed to Satan in the whole poem. *Addifon*. When Milton design'd to have made only a tragedy of the *Paradife Loft*, it was his intention to have begun it with the firft ten lines of the following fpeech, which he fhew'd to his nephew Edward Philips and others, as Philips informs us in his account of the life of his uncle. And what a noble opening of a play would this have been! The lines were certainly too good

to be loft, and the author has done well to employ them here, they could not have been better employ'd any where. Satan is made to address the fun, as it was the moft conspicuous part of the creation; and the thought is very natural of addressing it like the God of this world, when fo many of the Heathen nations have worfhipped and adored it as fuch.

40. *Till pride and worfe ambition*] Pride is a kind of exceffive and vicious felf-eftem, that raifes men in their own opinions above what is juft and right: but ambition is that which adds fuel to this flame, and claps furs to thefe

The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
 How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
 And wrought but malice; lifted up so high
 I sdeind subjection, and thought one step higher 50
 Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
 The debt immense of endless gratitude,
 So burdensome still paying, still to owe,
 Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,
 And understood not that a grateful mind 55
 By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
 Indebted and discharg'd; what burden then?
 O had his pow'rful destiny ordain'd
 Me some inferior Angel, I had stood
 Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd 60
Ambition.

these furious and inordinate desires that break forth into the most execrable acts to accomplish their haughty designs; which makes our author stigmatize ambition as a worse sin than pride. *Hume.* Dr. Bentley reads *and curs'd ambition*, because he thinks it hard to say whether *pride* or *ambition* is worse: but Milton seems to mean by *pride* the vice consider'd in itself, and only as it is the temper of the proud man; and by *ambition* the vice that carry'd him to aim at being equal with God: and was not this vice the worst of the two? I observe that Satan always lays the blame on his

ambition, as in ver. 61 and 92. *Pearce.*

50. *I sdeind*] For disdain'd; an imitation of the Italian *sdegnare*. *Hume.* The same word is used by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. Cant. 5. St. 44. and other places.

55. *And understood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in ver. 50. *I sdeind* and *thought*.

55. — a grateful mind

By owing owes not, but still pays,] Satan here has anticipated a sentence, afterwards us'd by Cicero; *Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisse.* *Bentley.*

Ambition. Yet why not? some other Power
 As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean
 Drawn to his part; but other Pow'rs as great
 Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within
 Or from without, to all temptations arm'd. 65
 Hadst thou the same free will and pow'r to stand?
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to' accuse,
 But Heav'n's free love dealt equally to all?
 Be then his love accurs'd, since love or hate,
 To me alike, it deals eternal woe. 70
 Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
 Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
 Me miserable! which way shall I fly
 Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
 Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell; 75
 And in the lowest deep a lower deep
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.

O

79. *O then at last relent:*] There is no fault
 to be found with this reading, but I am some-
 times inclin'd to think that the author might
 have given it

O then at last repent:

because of what follows,

— is there no place
 Left for *repentance*,

and

O then at last relent: is there no place
 Left for repentance, none for pardon left? 80
 None left but by submission; and that word
 Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
 Among the Spi'rits beneath, whom I seduc'd
 With other promises and other vaunts
 Than to submit, boasting I could subdue 85
 Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know
 How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
 Under what torments inwardly I groan,
 While they adore me on the throne of Hell.
 With diadem and scepter high advanc'd, 90
 The lower still I fall, only supreme
 In misery; such joy ambition finds.
 But say I could repent and could obtain
 By act of grace my former state; how soon
 Would highth recall high thoughts, how soon unsay 95
 What feign'd submission swore? ease would recant
 VOWS

and again, ver. 93.

But say I could *repent*, &c.

And it is not improbable, that he had Shake-
 spear in his thoughts, Hamlet, Act. III.

VOL. I.

Try, what repentance: what can it not?

Yet what can it, when one cannot repent?

81. ——— and that word

Disdain forbids me,] Disdain forbids me that
 word *submission*. Bentley.

H h

112. By

Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
 For never can true reconcilment grow
 Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep:
 Which would but lead me to a worfe relapse 100
 And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear
 Short intermission bought with double smart.
 This knows my punisher; therefore as far
 From granting he, as I from begging peace:
 All hope excluded thus, behold in stead 105
 Of us out-cast, exil'd, his new delight,
 Mankind created, and for him this world.
 So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
 Farewel remorse: all good to me is lost;
 Evil be thou my good; by thee at least 110
 Divided empire with Heav'n's king I hold,
 By

112. *By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;*] This passage has occasion'd much perplexity and confusion, but it may easily be understood thus. *Evil be thou my good;* be thou all my delight, all my happiness; *by thee I hold at least divided empire with Heav'n's king* at present, I ruling in Hell as God in Heaven: *by thee* I say; he is made to repeat it with emphasis, to add the greater force to his diabolical sentiment, and to mark it more strongly to the reader: *and* in a short time will reign perhaps more than half, in this new world as well as in Hell; *as Man ere long and this new world shall know.* And he is very properly made to conclude his speech with this, as this was now his main business and the end of his coming hither.
 114. — *each passion dimm'd his face*
Thricechang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair;]
 Each passion, ire, envy, and despair, dimm'd his countenance which was thrice chang'd with pale through the successive agitations of these three

By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
As Man ere long, and this new world shall know.

Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair; 115
Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.

For heav'nly minds from such distempers foul
Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,
Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm, 120

Artificer of fraud; and was the first
That practis'd falshood under faintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:

Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive
Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursued him down 125
The way he went, and on th' Assyrian mount

Saw

three passions. For that paleness is the proper hue of envy and despair every body knows, and we always reckon that sort of anger the most deadly and diabolical, which is accompanied with a pale livid countenance. It is remarkable that in the argument to this book we read, instead of *ire, fear, envy, and despair*; and as *fear* may be justify'd by ver. 18. *horror and doubt distract*, and other places; so is *anger* warranted by ver. 9. and by his cursing God and himself, and by his threatening of Man in the close of his speech.

126. — *on th' Assyrian mount*] Dr. Bentley reads *Armenian mount*: but Niphates is by Pliny reckon'd between Armenia and Assyria, and therefore may be called *Assyrian*. It is plain from Milton's account of the situation of Eden, ver. 210, 285, that Eden was in Assyria; and it is plain from comparing III. 742. with IV. 27. that Niphates was not far from Eden; so that Milton must have plac'd it in Assyria, at least on the borders of it.

Pearce.

H h 2

132. — *where*

Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall
 Spirit of happy sort: his gestures fierce
 He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,
 As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen. 130
 So on he fares, and to the border comes
 Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
 Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,
 As with a rural mound, the champain head
 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides 135
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
 Access deny'd; and over head up grew
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
 Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,

A

132. — *where delicious Paradise, &c.*] Satan is now come to the border of Eden, where he has a nearer prospect of Paradise, which the poet represents as situated in a champain country upon the top of a steep hill, called the Mount of Paradise. The sides of this hill were overgrown with thickets and bushes, so as not to be passable; and over-head above these, on the sides of the hill likewise, grew the loftiest trees, and as they ascended in ranks shade above shade, they formed a kind of natural theatre, the rows of trees rising one above another in the same manner as the benches in the theatres and places of public shows and

spectacles. And yet higher than the highest of these trees grew up the verdurous wall of Paradise, a green inclosure like a rural mound, like a bank set with a hedge, but this hedge grew not up so high as to hinder Adam's prospect into the neighbouring country below, which is called his *empire*, as the whole earth was his *dominion*, V. 751. But above this hedge or green wall grew a circling row of the finest fruit trees; and the only entrance into Paradise was a gate on the eastern side. This account in prose may perhaps help the reader the better to understand the description in verse.

140. *A sylvan scene,*] So Virgil, *Æn.* I. 164.

Tum

A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend 140
 Shade above shade, a woody theatre
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
 The verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung:
 Which to our general sight gave prospect large
 Into his nether empire neighb'ring round. 145
 And higher than that wall a circling row
 Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit,
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
 Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colors mix'd:
 On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams 150
 Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,
 When God hath show'rd the earth; so lovely seem'd
 That

Tum sylvis scena coruscis
 Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet
 umbra. *Hume.*

147. — with fairest fruit,
Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,]
 Dr. Bentley reads *fruits* in the first Verse, be-
 cause *fruits* follows in the next: but I should
 choose to read *fruit* in both places; because I
 observe that when Milton speaks of what is
 hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the
 singular number (when gather'd, in the plural)
 as in V. 341. *fruit of all kinds*. See also VIII.
 307. and IV. 422. and in IV. 249. he repeats
 this very thought again thus,

Others whose *fruit* burnish'd with golden
 rind &c.
 and in the Mask we have
 To save her *blossoms*, and defend her *fruit*.

Pearce.
 We may add another instance from the Para-
 dise Lost, VII. 324.

— and spread
 Their branches hung with copious *fruit*, or
 gemm'd
 Their *blossoms*.

151. *Than in fair evening cloud,*] Dr. Bentley
 reads *Than on fair evening cloud*.

152. — so lovely seem'd
That landskip:] And now if we compare
 our

That landskip: And of pure now purer air
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive 155
 All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
 Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past 160
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabeian odors from the spicy shore
 Of Araby the blest; with such delay
 Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league
 Chear'd

our poet's topography of Paradise with Homer's description of Alcinous's gardens, or with that of Calypso's shady grotto, we may without affectation affirm, that in half the number of verses that they consist of, our author has outdone them. But to make a comparison more obvious to most understandings, read the description of *the bower of bliss* by a poet of our own nation and famous in his time; but 'tis impar congressus, and rime fetter'd his fancy. Spenser's Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 42. &c. Hume.

158. — *and whisper whence they stole Those balmy spoils.*] This fine passage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night at the beginning

— like the sweet south
 That breathes upon a bank of violets,
 Stealing and giving odor.

163. — *with such delay*
Well pleas'd they slack their course,] The north-east winds blowing contrary to those who have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and are past the island *Mozambic* on the eastern coast of Africa near the continent, and are sailing forwards, they must necessarily *slack their course*; but yet they are well enough *pleas'd with such delay*, as it gives them the pleasure of smelling such delicious odors, *Sabeian odors*, from Saba, a city and country of Arabia Felix *Araby the blest*, the most famous for frankincense. Sabæi Arabum

Chear'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles: 165
 So entertain'd those odorous sweets the Fiend
 Who came their bane, though with them better pleas'd
 Than Asmodeüs with the fishy fume,
 That drove him, though enamour'd, from the spouse
 Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent 170
 From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to th' ascent of that steep savage hill
 Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow;
 But further way found none, so thick intwin'd,
 As one continued brake, the undergrowth 175
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd

All

Arabum propter thura clarissimi. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 6. C. 28. and Virg. Georg. II. 117.

— folis est thurea virga Sabæis.

168. *Than Asmodeüs with &c.*] Asmodeüs was the evil Spirit, enamour'd of Sarah the daughter of Raguel, whose seven husbands he destroy'd; but after that she was married to the son of Tobit, he was driven away by the fumes of the heart and liver of a fish; *the which smell when the evil Spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him.* See the book of Tobit, Chap. VIII.

173. *Satan had journey'd on, &c.*] The evil Spirit proceeds to make his discoveries con-

cerning our first parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attack'd. His bounding over the walls of Paradise; his sitting in the shape of a cormorant upon the tree of life, which stood in the center of it and overtopped all the other trees of the garden; his alighting among the herd of animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about Adam and Eve, together with his transforming himself into different shapes, in order to hear their conversation, are circumstances that give an agreeable surprise to the reader, and are devised with great art to connect that series of adventures, in which the poet has engaged this artificer of fraud. *Addison.*

177. All

All path of man or beast that pass'd that way:
 One gate there only was, and that look'd east
 On th' other side: which when th' arch-felon saw,
 Due entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt, 180
 At one flight bound high over leap'd all bound
 Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
 Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
 Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve 185
 In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,

Leaps

177. *All path of man or beast that pass'd that way:*] Satan is now come to the ascent of the hill of Paradise, which was so overgrown with thicket and underwood, that neither man nor beast could pass that way. *That pass'd that way*, that would have pass'd that way, a remarkable manner of speaking, somewhat like that in II. 642. *So seem'd far off the flying Fiend*, that is (speaking strictly) would have seem'd if any one had been there to have seen him. And the like manner of speaking we may observe in the best classic authors, as in Virg. *Æn.* VI. 467.

Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva tuentem
 Lenibat dictis animum, lacrimasque ciebat.

Lenibat animum, did appease her mind, that is would have appeas'd her mind, for what he said was without the desir'd effect. So Euripides in *Ion*. 1326.

ἤκουσας ὡς μ' ἐκτείνεν ἡδὲ μηχανάου;

Have you heard how she kill'd me, that is, would have kill'd me?

183. — *As when a prowling wolf,*] A wolf is often the subject of a simile in Homer and Virgil, but here is consider'd in a new light, and perhaps never furnish'd out a stronger resemblance; and the hint of this and the additional simile of a *thief* seems to have been taken from those words of our Saviour in St. John's gospel, X. 1. *He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.*

193. — *lewd hirelings*] The word *lewd* was formerly understood in a larger acceptation than it is at present, and signified profane, impious, wicked, vicious, as well as wanton: and in this larger sense it is employ'd by Milton

Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold:
 Or as a thief bent to unhord the cash
 Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,
 Cross-barr'd and bolted fast, fear no assault, 190
 In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles:
 So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold;
 So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.
 Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,
 The middle tree and highest there that grew, 195
 Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life

Thereby

Milton in the other places where he uses it, as well as here; I. 490.

— than whom a Spirit more *lewd*:

and VI. 182.

Yet *lewdly* dar'ft our ministring upbraid.

195. *The middle tree and highest there that grew,*] *The tree of life also in the midst of the garden,* Gen. II. 9. *In the midst* is a Hebrew phrase, expressing not only the local situation of this inlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the most considerable, the tallest, goodliest, and most lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himself: So Scotus, Duran, Valesius, &c. whom our poet follows, affirming it the *highest there that grew*. *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God,* Rev. II. 7. Hume.

VOL. I.

196. *Sat like a cormorant*;] The thought of Satan's transformation into a cormorant, and placing himself on the tree of life, seems raised upon that passage in the Iliad, where two deities are described, as perching on the top of an oak in the shape of vulturs. Addison. The poet had compared Satan to a vultur before, III. 431. and here again he is well liken'd to a cormorant, which being a very voracious sea-fowl, is a proper emblem of this destroyer of mankind.

196. — *yet not true life &c.*] The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better use of the tree of life. He sat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himself, but sat devising death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but used it only for the convenience of prospect, when it might have been used so as to have been a pledge of immortality.

I i

Thereby regain'd, but sat devising death
 To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought
 Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd
 For prospect, what well us'd had been the pledge 200
 Of immortality. So little knows
 Any, but God alone, to value right
 The good before him, but perverts best things
 To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.
 Beneath him with new wonder now he views 205
 To all delight of human sense expos'd

In

immortality. And so he perverted the best of things *to worst abuse*, by sitting upon the tree of life devising death, *or to meanest use*, by using it only for prospect, when he might have applied it to nobler purposes. But what use then would our author have had Satan to have made of the tree of life? Would eating of it have alter'd his condition, or have render'd him more immortal than he was already? What other use then could he have made of it, unless he had taken occasion from thence to reflect duly on life and immortality, and thereby had put himself in a condition to regain true life and a happy immortality. If the poet had not some such meaning as this, it is not easy to say what is the sense of the passage.

209. *Of God the garden was, by him in th' east Of Eden planted;*] So the sacred text, Gen. II. 8. *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden*, that is eastward of the place

where Moses writ his history, tho' Milton says *in th' east of Eden*; and then we have in a few lines our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the terrestrial Paradise was planted) extended from *Auran* or Haran or Charran or Charræ a city of Mesopotamia near the river Euphrates, extended, I say, from thence eastward to *Seleucia*, a city built by Seleucus one of the successors of Alexander the great, upon the river Tigris. Or in other words, this province was the same, where the children of Eden dwelt in *Telassar* (as Isaiah says Chap. XXXVII. 12.) which *Telassar* or *Talatha* was a province and a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia, upon the common stream of Tigris and Euphrates. See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p. 275. So that our author places Eden, agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, somewhere in Mesopotamia.

215. His

In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more,
 A Heav'n on Earth: for blifsful Paradise
 Of God the garden was, by him in th' east
 Of Eden planted; Eden stretch'd her line 210
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers
 Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian Kings,
 Or where the fons of Eden long before
 Dwelt in Telassar: in this pleasant soil
 His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd; 215
 Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow

All

215. *His far more pleasant garden*] In the description of Paradise, the poet has observed Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the weak unactive parts of the fable, which are not supported by the beauty of sentiments and characters. Accordingly the reader may observe, that the expressions are more florid and elaborate in these descriptions, than in most other parts of the poem. I must farther add, that tho' the *drawings* of gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead pieces of nature, are justly censured in an heroic poem, when they run out into an unnecessary length; the description of Paradise would have been faulty, had not the poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the scene of the principal action, but as it is requisite to give us an idea of that happiness from which our first parents fell. The plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the short sketch which we have of it in holy Writ. Mil-

ton's exuberance of imagination has poured forth such a redundancy of ornaments on this seat of happiness and innocence, that it would be endless to point out each particular. I must not quit this head without further observing, that there is scarce a speech of Adam and Eve in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments and allusions are not taken from this their delightful habitation. The reader, during their whole course of action, always finds himself in the walks of Paradise. In short, as the critics have remarked that in those poems, wherein shepherds are actors, the thoughts ought always to take a tincture from the woods, fields, and rivers; so we may observe, that our first parents seldom lose sight of their happy station in any thing they speak or do; and, if the reader will give me leave to use the expression, that their thoughts are always *Paradisical*. *Addison.*

All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
 And all amid them stood the tree of life,
 High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
 Of vegetable gold; and next to life, 220
 Our death the tree of knowledge grew fast by,
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
 Southward through Eden went a river large,
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill
 Pass'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown 225
 That mountain as his garden mold high rais'd
 Upon the rapid current, which through veins
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
 Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
 Water'd the garden; thence united fell 230
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
 Which

223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is most probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows *southward*, and must needs be a *river large* by the joining of two such mighty rivers. Upon this river it is supposed by the best commentators that the terrestrial Paradise was situated. Milton calls this river Tigris in IX. 71.

233. *And now divided into four main streams,*]

This is grounded upon the words of Moses, Gen. II. 10. *And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.* Now the most probable account that is given of these four rivers we conceive to be this. The river that water'd the garden of Eden was, as we think, the river formed by the junction of Euphrates and Tigris; and this river was parted into four other main streams or rivers; two above the

Which from his darksome passage now appears,
 And now divided into four main streams,
 Runs diverse, wand'ring many a famous realm
 And country, whereof here needs no account; 235
 But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,
 How from that saphir fount the crisped brooks,
 Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
 With mazy error under pendent shades
 Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed 240
 Flow'rs, worthy of Paradise, which not nice Art
 In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
 Pour'd forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
 Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
 The open field, and where the unpierc'd shade 245
 Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs: Thus was this place

A

the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris before they are join'd, and two below the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris after they are parted again; for Euphrates and Tigris they were still called by the Greeks and Romans, though in the time of Moses they were named Pison and Gihon. Our poet expresses it as if the river had been parted into four other rivers below the garden; but there is no being certain of these particulars, and Milton,

sensible of the great uncertainty of them, wisely avoids giving any farther description of the countries thro' which the rivers flow'd, and says in the general that no account needs to be given of them here.

238. *Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,*] Pactolus, Hermus, and other rivers are described by the poets as having golden sands; but the description is made richer here, and the water rolls on *the choicest pearls* as well as
sands

A happy rural feat of various view ;
 Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
 Others whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind
 Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true, 250
 If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
 Or palmy hilloc ; or the flow'ry lap
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store, 255
 Flow'rs

sands of gold. So in III. 507. we have *orient gems* ; see the note there. We have likewise *orient pearl* in Shakespear, Richard III. Act IV. and in Beaumont and Fletcher, The faithful Shepherdess, Act III.

248. *Groves whose rich trees &c.*] There were groves bearing aromatics, and there were others bearing fruit for sustenance. The former are called *rich trees*, as *odorous gums and balm* carry usually a higher price than *fruit* ; and they are said to *weep* gums and balm by a beautiful metaphor not unusual in poetry : as Ovid says of the myrrh-tree, Met. X. 500.

*Flet tamen, et tepidæ manant ex arbore guttæ,
 Est honor et lacrymis.*

250. — *Hesperian fables true, &c.*] Dr. Bentley prefers *apples* to *fables*, and asks how *fables* can be true any where? If they cannot, I wonder how the Doctor in his edition of Phædrus, suffer'd the following passage to stand without any censure,

Hanc emendare, si tamen possum, volo
 Vera fabella.

The first and most proper sense of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is something commonly talked of, whether true or false : and if Milton us'd the word *fable* so here, the sense is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out the words *Hesperian apples* (or *fables*) *true*, *If true, here only*, because (says he) *the Hesperian apples* are represented by the poets as of solid gold, far from being *of delicious taste*. This objection is answer'd by reading, as I think we ought to do, the whole passage thus,

Others, whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind
 Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables true,
 If true, here only) and of delicious taste.

Pearce.

Fables, stories as XI. 11. What is said of the Hesperian gardens is true here only ; if all is not pure invention, this garden was meant : and moreover these fruits have a delicious taste, those there had none. Richardson.

255. — *irriguous valley*] Well-water'd,
 full

Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose:
 Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
 Luxuriant; mean while murm'ring waters fall 260
 Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
 The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
 Breathing

full of springs and rills: it is the epithet of a garden in Horace, Sat. II. IV. 16.

Irriguo nihil est elutius horto. *Hume.*

256. *Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose:*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verse, because he thinks it a jejune identity in the poet to say *The flow'ry lap—spread flow'rs*: but, as Dr. Pearce observes, tho' the expression be not very exact, it is not so bad as Dr. Bentley represents it; for the construction and sense is, *The flow'ry lap of some valley spread her store*, which store was what? why *flow'rs* of every color or *hue*. Dr. Bentley objects too to the latter part of the verse, *and without thorn the rose*, and calls it a puerile fancy. But it should be remember'd, that it was part of the curse denounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression, that it should *bring forth thorns and thistles*, Gen. III. 18. and from hence the general opinion has prevailed that there were no thorns before; which is enough to justify a poet in saying the rose was without thorns or prickles.

257. *Another side, umbrageous grots and caves*] Another side of the garden was umbrageous grots and caves &c. Or on another side were shady grots and caves &c. the præposition being omitted as is not unusual with our author. See I. 282 and 723. *On one side* were groves of aromatics, others of fruit, and betwixt them lawns or downs. *On another side* were shady grotto's and caves of cool recess. Our author indeed has not mention'd *one side* before, but without that he often makes use of the expression, *on th' other side*, as you may see in II. 108, 706. IV. 985. IX. 888. as Virgil frequently says *in parte alia*, *in another part*, though he has not said expressly *in one part* before, Æn. I. 474. VIII. 682. IX. 521.

261. — *dispers'd, or in a lake,*] The waters fall dispersed, or unite their streams in a lake, that presents her clear looking-glass, holds her crystal mirror to the fringed bank crown'd with myrtle. He makes the lake we may observe a person, and a critic like Dr. Bentley may find fault with it; but it is usual with the poets to personify lakes and rivers, as Homer does

Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune 265
 The trembling leaves, while universal Pan
 Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
 Led on th' eternal spring. Not that fair field
 Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
 Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis 270
 Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
 To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
 Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inspir'd
 Castalian spring, might with this Paradise

Of

does the river Scamander and Virgil the Tiber; and Milton himself makes a person of the river of bliss, and a female person too, III. 359. as he does here of the lake. This language is certainly more poetical; and I suppose he thought *Her crystal mirror* sounded smoother and better than *Its crystal mirror*, or even *His crystal mirror*.

266. — *while universal Pan &c.*] While universal Nature link'd with the graceful seasons danc'd a perpetual round, and throughout the earth yet unpolluted led eternal spring. All the poets favor the opinion of the world's creation in the spring. Virg. Georg. II. 338.

Ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
 Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
 Cum primum lucem pecudes hausere &c.

Ov. Met. I. 107.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful seasons in which all things seem to dance and smile in an universal joy is plain from Horace, Od. IV. VII. 1.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis—
 Gratia cum nymphis geminisque sororibus
 audet

Ducere nuda choros.

And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus in his Hymn to Apollo. *Hume.*

The Ancients personiz'd every thing. *Pan* is nature, the *Graces* are the beautiful seasons, and the *Hours* are the time requisite for the production and perfection of things, Milton only says in a most poetical manner (as Homer in his hymn to Apollo had done before him) that now all nature was in beauty, and every hour produc'd something new, without any change for the worse. *Richardson.*

268. — *Not*

Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian ile 275
 Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
 Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
 Hid Amalthea and her florid son
 Young Bacchus from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
 Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard, 280
 Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd
 True Paradise under the Ethiop line
 By Nilus head, inclos'd with shining rock,
 A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
 From

268. — *Not that fair field &c.*] Not that fair field of *Enna* in Sicily, celebrated so much by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence *Proserpin* was carried away by the gloomy God of Hell *Dis* or *Pluto*, which occasion'd her mother *Ceres* to seek her all the world over; nor that sweet grove of *Daphne* near Antioch, the capital of Syria, seated on the banks of the river *Orontes*, together with the *Castalian* spring there, of the same name with that in Greece, and extoll'd for its prophetic qualities; nor the island *Nysa*, encompass'd with the river *Triton* in Africa, where *Cham* or *Ham* the son of Noah, therefore called *old*, (who first peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of *Ammon* or *Lybian Jove*) hid his mistress *Amalthea* and her beautiful son *Bacchus* (therefore called *Dionysus*) from his stepdame *Rhea*'s eye, the stepdame of *Bacchus* and wife of the Libyan Jove according to some authors, par-
 VOL. I.

particularly *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 3. and Sir Walter Raleigh's Hist. B. 1. ch. 6. sect. 5. tho' different from others; nor mount *Amara*, where the kings of *Abassinia* or *Abyssinia* (a kingdom in the upper Ethiopia) keep their children guarded, a place of most delightful prospect and situation, inclos'd with alabaster rocks, which it is a day's journey to ascend, supposed by some (tho' so far distant from the true Paradise) to be the seat of Paradise under the *Ethiopian* or equinoctial line near the springs of the river *Nile*: Not any nor all of these could vy with this Paradise of Eden; this exceeded all that historians have written or poets have feign'd of the most beautiful places in the world. By the way we should observe his manner of pronouncing *Proserpin* with the accent upon the second syllable, like the Latin, and as Spenser and the old English authors pronounce it, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 2.

K k

And

From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend 285
 Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
 Of living creatures new to sight and strange.
 Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
 Godlike erect, with native honor clad
 In naked majesty seem'd lords of all, 290
 And worthy seem'd; for in their looks divine
 The image of their glorious Maker shone,
 Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,
 (Severe

And sad Proserpin's wrath, them to affright;
 but not as it is commonly used at this time,
 as in Cato,

So Pluto seis'd of Proserpin convey'd.

285. — *Assyrian garden,*] Milton here follows Strabo, who comprehends Mesopotamia in the ancient Assyria. *Richardson.*

288. *Two of far nobler shape &c.*] The description of Adam and Eve, as they first appeared to Satan, is exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that astonishment and those emotions of envy, in which he is represented. There is a fine spirit of poetry in the lines which follow, wherein they are described as sitting on a bed of flowers by the side of a fountain, amidst a mixed assembly of animals.

Addison.

293. *Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,*

(*Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd*)

Whence true authority in men;] The middle verse ought to have been put thus in a parenthesis; for the *true authority in men* arises not from *filial freedom*, but from their having *truth, wisdom, and sanctitude severe and pure*, that is strict holiness; which are qualities that give to magistrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning: and for explaining the word *severe*, he inserts a verse to show that he does not mean such a *sanctitude* or holiness as is rigid and austere, but such as is *plac'd in filial freedom*; alluding to the scriptural expressions, which represent good Christians as *free* and as the *sons of God*: on which foundation our obedience (from whence our sanctitude arises) is a *filial*, and not a slavish one; a reverence rather than a fear of the Deity. From hence we may see that Dr. Bentley had no sufficient reason to change *severe* in the first verse into *serene*, and to throw out the second verse entirely.

Pearce.

297. *For*

(Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)
 Whence true authority in men; though both 295
 Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;
 For contemplation he and valor form'd,
 For softness she and sweet attractive grace,
 He for God only, she for God in him:
 His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd 300
 Absolute rule; and hyacinthin locks
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung
 Clustering,

297. *For contemplation he and valor form'd,
 For softness she and sweet attractive grace,*
 The curious reader may please to observe upon
 these two charming lines, how the numbers
 are varied, and how artfully *he* and *she* are
 placed in each verse, so as the tone may fall
 upon them, and yet fall upon them differently.
 The author might have given both exactly the
 same tone, but every ear must judge this al-
 teration to be much for the worse.

For valor he and contemplation form'd,
 For softness she and sweet attractive grace.

299. *He for God only, she for God in him:*]
 The author gave it thus, says Dr. Bentley,
 He for God only, she for God *and* him.

The opposition demonstrates this, and ver. 440,
 Eve speaks to Adam,

— O thou *for whom*
 And from whom I was form'd —

Dr. Pearce approves this reading of Dr. Bent-

ley, and to the proof which he brings, adds
 X. 150.

— made of thee
 And *for thee*.

And indeed, tho' some have endeavor'd to ju-
 stify the common reading, yet this is so much
 better, that we cannot but wish it was admitted
 into the text.

301. — *hyacinthin locks*] Thus Minerva in
 Homer gives Ulysses hyacinthin locks to make
 him more beautiful,

Καὶ δὲ καρητῷ
 Οὐλᾶς ἦκε κομᾶς, υακινθίνῳ ἀνθεὶ ομοίας.
 Odyss. VI. 231.

Back from his brows a length of hair unfurls,
 His hyacinthin locks descend in wavy curls.
 Broome.

Eustathius interprets hyacinthin locks by black
 locks; and Milton in like manner means dark
 or black locks, distinguishing Adam's hair
 K k 2 from

Clustring, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
 She as a veil down to the slender waste
 Her unadorned golden tresses wore 305
 Dishevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
 As the vine curls her tendrils, which imply'd
 Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
 And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,
 Yielded with coy submission, modest pride, 310
 And sweet reluctant amorous delay.

Nor

from Eve's in the color as well as in other particulars. It is probable the hyacinth among the Ancients might be of a darker color than it is among us.

303. *Clustring*,] His hair hung *clustring*, or like bunches of grapes, as her's was like the young shoots or *tendrils* of the *vine*. They are oppos'd, you see, the one to the other.

303. — *his shoulders broad*:] Broad shoulders are always assign'd to the ancient heroes; in Homer they have *εὐρέας ὤμους*, in Virgil *latus humeros*. But I wonder that Milton has given no indication that Adam had a beard; not the least down or blossom on his chin, the first access to manhood; which the Greek and Latin poets dwell on, as the principal part of manly beauty: and our Spenser, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 79. and B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 29. *Bentley*. His beard is a particular that the poet could not have forgot, but I suppose he purposely omitted it, because Raphael and the principal painters always represent him without one; I believe no one remembers ever to have seen a

good print or picture of him with one, and Milton frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greatest masters in painting.

305. — *golden tresses*] This sort of hair was most admir'd and celebrated by the Ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the Goddess of beauty, is described of this color and complexion; and therefore is stiled *golden Venus*, *χρυσή Αφροδίτη* by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had the taste of the Ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colors, or he would never have bestow'd it upon Eve, whom he design'd as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And possibly he might at the same time intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had seen his widow in Cheshire, that she had red hair. It

Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
 Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
 Of nature's works, honor dishonorable,
 Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind 315
 With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
 And banish'd from man's life his happiest life,
 Simplicity and spotless innocence!
 So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
 Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill: 320
 So

It is the more probable, that he intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve; as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own person, of which he had no mean opinion.

307. — *which imply'd*
Subjection,] The poet manifestly alludes to St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. XI. *Doth not even nature itself teach you* (says the Apostle) *that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him?* And therefore Milton gives Adam locks, that *hung clustring, but not beneath his shoulders broad.* But if a woman have long hair (continues the Apostle) *it is a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering or veil* as it is render'd in the margin: and therefore our author gives Eve very long hair, *she wore her golden tresses as a veil down to the slender waste.* And this long hair the Apostle considers as an argument and token of her subjection, a covering, a veil, in sign that she is under the power of her husband; and for the same reason the poet says that it *imply'd subjection*:

such excellent use doth he make of the sacred Writings. The poet adds that this subjection was *requir'd* by him *with gentle sway, and yielded by her*, but it was *best receiv'd by him*, when *yielded with coy submission, modest pride, and sweet reluctant amorous delay*, which is express'd with more elegance than that admir'd passage in Horace, which no doubt Milton had in his thoughts, Od. II. XII. 26.

— *facili sævitia negat*

Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupat.

314. — *honor dishonorable,*] He alludes to 1 Cor. XII. 23. *And those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor.* But the honor paid to those parts is really a dishonor, a token of our fall, and an indication of our guilt. Innocent nature made no such distinction. *Sin-bred, how have ye troubled &c.* Should we not read,

Sin-bred, how have you troubled —

for what is he speaking to besides *Shame*?

323. *Adam*

So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair
 That ever since in love's embraces met;
 Adam the goodliest man of men since born
 His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.
 Under a tuft of shade that on a green 325
 Stood whisp'ring soft, by a fresh fountain side
 They sat them down; and after no more toil
 Of their sweet gard'ning labor than suffic'd
 To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease
 More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite 330
 More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,
 Nectarin fruits which the compliant boughs
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline
 On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:

The

323. *Adam the goodliest man of men &c.*] These two lines are censur'd by Mr. Addison, and are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters: but this manner of expression is borrow'd from the Greek language, in which we find sometimes the superlative degree used instead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his sons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is said to have been *ωκυμωρτατ' αλλων* Iliad. I. 505. that is more short-liv'd than others. So

Nireus is said to have been the handsomest of the other Grecians, Iliad. II. 673.

— *ος καλλιστ' ανηρ υπο Ιλιον ηλθε,*
των αλλων Δαναων. —

And the same manner of speaking has pass'd from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is call'd in Horace, Sat. I. I. 100. *fortissima Tyndaridarum*, not that she was one of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them. And as Dr. Pearce observes, so Diana is said by one of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima*, not one of her own companions, but
 more

The savory pulp they chew, and in the rind 335
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;
 Nor gentle purpose, nor indearing smiles
 Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
 Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
 Alone as they. About them frisking play'd 340
 All beasts of th' earth, since wild, and of all chase
 In wood or wilderness, forest or den;
 Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
 Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
 Gambol'd before them; th' unwieldy elephant 345
 To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
 His lithe proboscis; close the serpent fly
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine

His

more handsome than any of them. And I believe a man would not be corrected for writing false English, who should say *the most learned of all others* instead of *more learned than all others*.

345. — *th' unwieldy elephant*] Mind the accent of *unwieldy* in the first syllable. The author knew the common pronunciation to be in the second, as VII. 411. *Wallowing unwieldy*. But with great art and judgment following his principals Homer and Virgil, he made the verse itself *unwieldy*, that the reader might feel it as well as understand it.

Bentley.

347. *His lithe proboscis*;] His limber trunk, so pliant and useful to him, that Cicero calls it *elephantorum manum*, the elephants hand.

Hume.

348. *Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine*
His breasted train, &c.] *Insinuating*, wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were imbofoming himself. Virgil frequently uses the words *sinuosus* and *sinuare* to express the winding motions of this animal. *With Gordian twine*, with many intricate turnings and twistings, like the famous Gordian knot, which no body could unty, but Alexander cut it with his sword. *His breasted train*,

His breaded train, and of his fatal guile
 Gave proof unheeded; others on the grafs 350
 Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat,
 Or bedward ruminating; for the sun
 Declin'd was hasting now with prone career
 To th' ocean iles, and in th' ascending scale
 Of Heav'n the stars that usher evening rose: 355
 When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,
 Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.

O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!

Into

train, his plaited twisted tail. *And of his fatal guile gave proof unheeded*; That intricate form into which he put himself was a sort of symbol or type of his fraud, tho' not then regarded. *Hume and Richardson.*

We may observe that the poet is larger in the description of the serpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciously as he is afterwards made the instrument of so much mischief; and at the same time an intimation is given of *his fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows.

351. *Couch'd*,] Let the reader observe how artfully the word *couch'd* is placed, so as to make the sound expressive of the sense,

— others on the grafs
 Couch'd. —

Such a rest upon the first syllable of the verse is not very common, but is very beautiful

when it is so accommodated to the sense. The learned reader may observe a beauty of the like kind in these verses of Homer, *Iliad*. I. 51.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τ' αὐτοῖσι βέλῳ ἐχέπυκας ἐφίεις
 Βαλλ'· αἰεὶ δ' ἐπὶ πυρρῇ νεκρῶν καὶ οἷοιο θάμνισσιν.

and *Iliad*. V. 146.

Τὸν δ' ἑτέρων ξίφει μεγάλῃ κληῖδα παρ' ὤμων
 Πληξ'.

and again, ver. 156.

--- Πατέρῃ δ' ἐγὼ γοῶν καὶ κηδεῖα λυγρῇ
 Λείπ'. and in several other places.

And the English reader may see similar instances in our English Homer. Pope's Homer, B. 16. ver. 445.

Chariots on chariots roll; the clashing spokes
 Shock; | while the madding steeds break
 short their yokes.

And

Into our room of blifs thus high advanc'd
 Creatures of other mold, earth-born perhaps, 360
 Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
 Little inferior; whom my thoughts purfue
 With wonder, and could love, fo lively fhines
 In them divine refemblance, and fuch grace
 The hand that form'd them on their fhape hath pour'd.
 Ah gentle pair, ye little think how nigh 365
 Your change approaches, when all thefe delights
 Will vanifh and deliver ye to woe,

More

And in the Temple of Fame, ver. 85.

Amphion there the loud creating lyre
 Strikes, | and behold a fudden Thebes afpire!

And it is observable that this pause is usually made upon the verb, to mark the action more strongly to the reader.

352. *Or bedward ruminating :*] Chewing the cud before they go to reft. *Hume.*

354. *To th' ocean iles,*] The ilands in the western ocean; for that the fun fet in the fea, and rofe out of it again, was an ancient poetic notion, and is become part of the phrafeology of poetry. *And in th' afcending fcale of Heav'n,* The *balance* of Heaven or *Libra* is one of the twelve figns, and when the fun is in that fign, as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and nights are equal, as if weigh'd in a balance:

Libra diei fomnique pares ubi fecerit horas:
Virg. Georg. I, 208.

VOL. I.

and from hence our author feems to have borrow'd his metaphor of the *scales* of Heaven, weighing night and day, the one afcending as the other finks.

357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd fpeech recover'd fad.*] Tho' Satan came in queft of Adam and Eve, yet he is ftruck with fuch aftonifhment at the fight of them, that it is a long time before he can recover his fpeech, and break forth into this foliloquy: and at the fame time this dumb admiration of Satan gives the poet the better opportunity of enlarging his defcription of them. This is very beautiful.

362. *Little inferior;*] For this there is the authority of Scripture. *Thou haft made him a little lower than the Angels,* Pfal. VIII. 5. Heb. II. 7.

L 1

389. *Yes*

More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;
 Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd 370
 Long to continue, and this high seat your Heaven
 Ill fenc'd for Heav'n to keep out such a foe
 As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
 To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
 Though I unpitied: League with you I seek, 375
 And mutual amity so strait, so close,
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me
 Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not please,
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such
 Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me, 380
 Which I as freely give; Hell shall unfold,
 To entertain you two, her widest gates,
 And send forth all her kings; there will be room,
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive

Your

389. — *yet public reason just, &c.*] Public reason *compels me*, and that public reason is honor and empire enlarg'd with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reason just*, and *necessity*, to *excuse his devilish deeds*; *the tyrant's plea*, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money.

395. *Then from his lofty stand on that high tree &c.*] The tree of life, higher than the rest, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the transformations which follow, what changes in Ovid's Metamorphosis are so natural, and yet so surprising as these? He is well liken'd to the fiercest beasts, the lion and the tiger, and Adam

Your numerous offspring; if no better place, 385
 Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
 On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
 And should I at your harmless innocence
 Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
 Honor and empire with revenge enlarg'd, 390
 By conqu'ring this new world, compels me now
 To do what else though damn'd I should abhor.

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,
 The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
 Then from his lofty stand on that high tree 395
 Down he alights among the sportful herd
 Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,
 Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end
 Nearer to view his prey, and unespied
 To mark what of their state he more might learn 400
 By

Adam and Eve in their native innocence to two gentle fawns.

400. *To mark what of their state he more might learn*

By word or action mark'd:] Tho' the poet uses *mark* and *mark'd* too, yet such repetitions of the same word are common with him; so common that we may suppose he did not do it

for want of attention, and that it was not merely the effect of his blindness. See instances of it in my note on III. 147. and we have another following here, ver. 405.

*Strait couches close, then rising changes oft
 His couchant watch.* Pearce.

L 1 2

410. *Turn'd*

By word or action mark'd: about them round
 A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
 Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spy'd
 In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
 Strait couches close, then rising changes oft 405
 His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
 Whence rushing he might surest seize them both
 Grip'd in each paw: when Adam first of men
 To first of women Eve thus moving speech,
 Turn'd him all ear to hear new utterance flow. 410

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,
 Dearer thyself than all; needs must the Power
 That made us, and for us this ample world,
 Be infinitely good, and of his good

As

410. *Turn'd him all ear &c.*] A pretty expression borrow'd from the Latin,

Totum te cupias, Fabulle, nasum. Bentley.

So in the *Mask*, *I was all ear.* Richardson.

411. *Sole partner, &c.*] The speeches of these two first lovers flow equally from passion and sincerity. The professions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the same time founded upon truth. In a word they are the gallantries of Paradise. Addison.

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,

So the passage ought to be read (I think) with a comma after *part*; and *of* here signifies *among*. The sense is, among all these joys Thou alone art my partner, and (what is more) Thou alone art part of me, as in ver. 487.

Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
 My other half.

Of in Milton frequently signifies *among*. The want of observing this made Dr. Bentley read *best part* for *sole part*, thinking that *sole part* is a contradiction, and so it is as he understands

of

As liberal and free as infinite; 415
 That rais'd us from the dust and plac'd us here
 In all this happiness, who at his hand
 Have nothing merited, nor can perform
 Ought whereof he hath need, he who requires
 From us no other service than to keep 420
 This one, this easy charge, of all the trees
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
 So various, not to taste that only tree
 Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life;
 So near grows death to life, whate'er death is, 425
 Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'st
 God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,
 The only sign of our obedience left

Among

of here, to be the mark of the genitive case govern'd of *part.* Pearce.

421. *This one, this easy charge, &c.*] It was very natural for Adam to discourse of this, and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn; and it is express'd from God's command, Gen. II. 16, 17. *Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.* And in like manner when Adam says afterwards

——— *dominion given*
Over all other creatures that possess
Earth, air, and sea,

it is taken from the divine commission, Gen. I. 28. *Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* These things are so evident, that it is almost superfluous to mention them. If we take notice of them, it is that every reader may be sensible how much of Scripture our author hath wrought into this divine poem.

449. *That*

Among so many signs of pow'r and rule
 Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given 430
 Over all other creatures that possess
 Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard
 One easy prohibition, who enjoy
 Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
 Unlimited of manifold delights: 435
 But let us ever praise him, and extol
 His bounty, following our delightful task
 To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers,
 Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.

To whom thus Eve reply'd. O thou for whom 440
 And from whom I was form'd flesh of thy flesh,
 And without whom am to no end, my guide

And

449. *That day I oft remember, &c.*] The remaining part of Eve's speech, in which she gives an account of herself upon her first creation, and the manner in which she was brought to Adam, is I think as beautiful a passage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatsoever. These passages are all work'd off with so much art, that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate reader without offending the most severe. A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author would have found it very difficult to have filled these tender parts of the poem with sentiments

proper for a state of innocence; to have described the warmth of love and the professions of it without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man speak the most endearing things without descending from his natural dignity, and the woman receiving them without departing from the modesty of her character; in a word, to adjust the prerogatives of wisdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and loveliness. This mutual subordination of the two sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole poem, as particularly in this speech of Eve, and the lines following

And head, what thou hast said is just and right.
 For we to him indeed all praises owe,
 And daily thanks; I chiefly who enjoy 445
 So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
 Præminent by so much odds, while thou
 Like comfort to thyself canst no where find.
 That day I oft remember, when from sleep
 I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd 450
 Under a shade on flow'rs, much wond'ring where
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
 Not distant far from thence a murm'ring sound
 Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
 Into a liquid plain, then stood unmov'd 455
 Pure as th' expanse of Heav'n; I thither went

With

lowing it. The poet adds, that the Devil turned away at the sight of so much happiness.

Addison.

That day I oft remember, From this as well as several other passages in the poem it appears, that the poet supposes Adam and Eve to have been created, and to have lived many days in Paradise before the fall. See IV. 639, 680, 712. V. 31. &c.

450. *I first awak'd,*] As death is often compar'd to *sleep*, so our coming into life may well be liken'd to *waking*: and Adam speaks in the same figure, VIII. 253.

As new wak'd from soundest sleep, &c.

If we compare his account of himself upon his creation with this here given by Eve, the beauty and propriety of each will appear to greater advantage.

451. *Under a shade on flow'rs,*] The first edition has *under a shade on flow'rs*, the second *under a shade of flow'rs*; and the subsequent editions vary in like manner, some exhibiting *on flow'rs*, others *of flow'rs*; but *repos'd on flow'rs* under a shade seems to be much better than *a shade of flow'rs*.

With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.

As I bent down to look, just opposit 460

A shape within the watry gleam appear'd,

Bending to look on me: I started back,

It started back; but pleas'd I soon return'd,

Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answ'ring looks

Of sympathy and love: there I had fix'd 465

Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,

Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou seest,

What there thou seest, fair Creature, is thyself;

With thee it came and goes: but follow me,

And I will bring thee where no shadow stays 470

Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he

Whose

458. ——— to look into the clear

Smooth lake,] It has been asked, sarcastically enough, (*Spectator*, Vol. 5. N^o 325.) whether some moral is not couch'd under this place, where the poet lets us know, that the first woman immediately after her creation ran to a looking-glass, and became so enamour'd of her own face, that she had never removed to view any of the other works of nature, had not she been led off to a man. However that be, this account that Eve gives of her coming

to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image, when she had seen no other human creature, is much more probable and natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the famous story of Narcissus in Ovid, from whom our author manifestly took the hint, and has expressly imitated some passages, but has avoided all his puerilities without losing any of his beauties, as the reader may easily observe by comparing both together, *Met.* III. 457.

Spem

Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy
 Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear
 Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
 Mother of human race. What could I do, 475
 But follow strait, invisibly thus led?
 Till I espy'd thee, fair indeed and tall,
 Under a platan; yet methought less fair,
 Less winning soft, less amiably mild,
 Than that smooth watry image: back I turn'd; 480
 Thou following cry'dst aloud, Return fair Eve,
 Whom fly'st thou? whom thou fly'st, of him thou art,
 His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
 Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart
 Substantial life, to have thee by my side 485
 Henceforth an individual solace dear;

Part

Spem mihi nescio quam vultu promittis amico :
 Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigis ultro:
 Cum risi, arrides: lacrymas quoque sæpe notavi
 Me lacrymante tuas. —

Ista repercussæ, quam cernis, imaginis umbra est:
 Nil habet ista sui: tecum venitque manetque;
 Tecum discedet, si tu discedere possis.

478. *Under a platan;*] The plane tree so
 named from the breadth of its leaves, Πλάτυς,
 Greek, broad; a tree useful and delightful for
 Vol. I.

its extraordinary shade, Virg. Georg. IV. 146.

Jamque ministrantem *platanum* potantibus
 umbram. Hume.

483. *His flesh, his bone;*] The Scripture ex-
 pression; *bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh*,
 Gen. II. 23. as afterwards when he calls her
Part of my soul — my other half, it is from
 Horace,

Animæ dimidium meæ.

Od. I. III. 8.

M m

494. — embracing

Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
 My other half: with that thy gentle hand
 Seis'd mine; I yielded, and from that time see
 How beauty is excell'd by manly grace 490
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

So spake our general mother, and with eyes
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,
 And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
 On our first father; half her swelling breast 495
 Naked met his under the flowing gold
 Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight
 Both of her beauty and submissive charms
 Smil'd

494. — *embracing*] Milton sometimes spells the word *embrace* after the French *embrasser*, and sometimes *imbrace* after the Italian *imbracciare*; but the former has now prevail'd universally.

499. — *as Jupiter &c.*] As the Heaven smiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the spring. This seems to be the meaning of the allegory; for Jupiter is commonly taken for the Heaven or æther, and Juno for the air, tho' some understand by them the air and earth. However that be, the congress of Jupiter and Juno was accounted the great cause of fruitfulness. Homer in the fourteenth book of the Iliad enlarges much upon the story of their loves, more than enough to give occasion to this

simile, and describes the earth putting forth her fairest flowers as the immediate effect of them. And Virgil likewise in describing the spring employs the same kind of images, and represents Jupiter operating upon his spouse for the production of all things, Georg. II. 325.

Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus
 æther

Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
 Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.

For then almighty Jove descends, and pours
 Into his buxom bride his fruitful show'rs;
 And mixing his large limbs with her's, he feeds
 Her births with kindly juice, and fosters teeming
 feeds. Dryden.

That expression of *the clouds shedding flow'rs* is
 very

Smil'd with superior love, as Jupiter
 On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds 500
 That shed May flow'rs; and press'd her matron lip
 With kisses pure: aside the Devil turn'd
 For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
 Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plain'd.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two 505
 Imparadis'd in one another's arms,
 The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
 Of blifs on blifs; while I to Hell am thrust,
 Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
 Among our other torments not the least, 510
 Still

very poetical, and not unlike that fine one in the Psalms of *the clouds dropping fatness*, Psal. LXXV. 12. and it is said *May flow'rs* to signify that this is done in the spring, as Virgil describes it. And then follows *and press'd her matron lip*, where the construction is *Adam smil'd with superior love, and press'd her matron lip*, the simile being to be understood as included in a parenthesis. *Her matron lip* evidently signifies her married lip, in distinction from a maiden or a virgin lip, as Ovid Fast. II. 828. speaking of Lucretia then married, says *matron cheeks*,

Et matronales erubuere genæ.

It implies that she was married to him, and that therefore their kisses were lawful and in-

nocent. It was the innocence of their loves that made the Devil turn aside for envy.

506. *Imparadis'd in one another's arms,*] *Imparadis'd* has been remark'd as a word first coin'd by Milton. But Sir Philip Sidney has it in *Arcadia*, p. 109. *So this imparadis'd neighbourhood made Zelmane's soul cleave unto her.* And the Italians had prior possession *Imparadisato*. Bentley.

509. *Where neither joy nor love,*] This sentence has no exit, unless you'll say without sense, where neither joy nor love *pines*. He gave it therefore

Where's neither joy nor love,

Where's contracted for *where is*.

Bentley.

M m 2

But

Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.
 Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
 From their own mouths: all is not theirs it seems;
 One fatal tree there stands of knowledge call'd,
 Forbidden them to taste: Knowledge forbidden? 515
 Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
 Envy them that? can it be sin to know?
 Can it be death? and do they only stand
 By ignorance? is that their happy state,
 The proof of their obedience and their faith? 520
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build
 Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
 With more desire to know, and to reject
 Envious commands, invented with design
 To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt 525
 Equal with Gods: aspiring to be such,

They

But Milton often leaves out the word *is*, as in VIII. 621. *and without love no happiness.*

Pearce.

515. — *Knowledge forbidden?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan, as if some useful and necessary knowledge was forbidden: whereas our first parents were created with perfect understanding, and the only knowledge

that was forbidden was the knowledge of evil by the commission of it.

530. *A chance but chance may lead*] Dr. Bentley censures this jingle, and thinks it unbecoming Satan at so serious a juncture to catch at puns; therefore proposes to read *some lucky chance may lead* &c. Dr. Pearce says that without any alteration or any pun we may read

A

They taste and die: what likelier can ensue?
 But first with narrow search I must walk round
 This garden, and no corner leave unspy'd;
 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet 530
 Some wand'ring Spirit of Heav'n by fountain side,
 Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
 What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
 Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed. 535

So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
 But with sly circumspection, and began [roam.
 Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale his
 Mean while in utmost longitude, where Heaven
 With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun 540
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise

Level'd

A chance (but chance) may lead &c
 that is *a chance*, and it can be only *a chance*,
may lead &c. But this sort of jingle is but too
 common with Milton. This here is not much
 unlike the *forte fortuna* of the Latins.

539. — *in utmost longitude,*] At the utmost
 length, at the farthest distance. Longitude is
 length, as in V. 754.

— from one entire globose
 Stretch'd into longitude;
 and it is particularly apply'd to the distance
 from east to west. See the notes upon III. 555,
 574.

541. *Slowly descended,*] Dr. Bentley objects
 to this verse for a frivolous reason, and reads
Had low descended, because the sun passes equal
 spaces

Level'd his evening rays: it was a rock
 Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,
 Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent 545
 Accessible from earth, one entrance high;
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
 Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,

Chief

spaces in equal times. This is true (as Dr. Pearce replies) in philosophy, but in poetry it is usual to represent it otherwise. But I have a stronger objection to this verse, which is that it seems to contradict what is said before, ver. 353.

The sun—was *hasting now with prone career*
 To th' ocean iles,

and to reconcile them I think we must read *Had low descended*, or perhaps *Lowly descended*, or understand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that the sun descended *slowly* at this time, because Uriel its Angel came on a sun-beam to Paradise, and was to return on the same beam; which he could not well have done, if the sun had mov'd on with its usual rapidity of course.

549. — *Gabriel*] One of the Arch-Angels, sent to show Daniel the vision of the four monarchies and the seventy weeks, Dan. VII. and IX. and to the Virgin Mary to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, Luke I. His name in the Hebrew signifies *the man of God*, or *the strength and power of God*; well by our author posted as chief of the angelic guards placed about Paradise. *Hume.*

551. — *heroic games*] They were not now

upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employ'd themselves in these noble exercises. So the soldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and so the infernal Spirits, when their chief was gone in search of the new creation, II. 528.

Richardson.

555. — *gliding through the even*] That is thro' that part of the hemisphere, where it was then evening. Evening (says Dr. Bentley) is no place of space to glide thro': no more is day or night, and yet in the sense, which I have given to *even*, Milton says in the next verse but one *thwarts the night*, and elsewhere speaks of *the confines of day*. *Pearce.*

In ver. 792. Uriel is said to be arriv'd from *the sun's decline*, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and justify'd by Virgil, Georg. IV. 59. where a swarm of bees sails thro' the glowing summer:

Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen.

Richardson.

556. *On a sun beam*,] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sun-beam, with the poet's device to make him *descend*, as well in his return

Chief of th' angelic guards, awaiting night; 550
 About him exercis'd heroic games
 Th' unarmed youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand
 Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
 Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold.
 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even 555
 On a sun beam, swift as a shooting star

In

turn to the sun, as in his coming from it, is a prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but seems below the genius of Milton. The description of the host of armed Angels walking their nightly round in Paradise, is of another spirit,

So saying, on he led his radiant files
 Dazling the moon;

as that account of the hymns which our first parents used to hear them sing in these their midnight walks, is altogether divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the imagination.

Addison.

As Uriel was coming from the sun to the earth, his coming upon a sun-beam was the most direct and level course that he could take; for the sun's rays were now pointed right against the eastern gate of Paradise, where Gabriel was sitting, and to whom Uriel was going. And the thought of making him glide *on a sun beam*, I have been inform'd, is taken from some capital picture of some great Italian master, where an Angel is made to descend in like manner.

556, — *swift as a shooting star* &c.] Homer

in like manner compares Minerva's descent from Heaven to a shooting star, Iliad. IV. 74.

Βῆ δ' ἐ κατ' ἑλυμποιο καρηνων αἶξασα.
 Οἶον δ' ἄστρα ἤκε Κρονὸς παῖς ἀκυλομητεω,
 Ἡ ναυτησι τερασ, ἥε στρατῷ εὐρεῖ λαῶν,
 Δαμπρον' τς δ' ἐ τε πολλοὶ ἀπο πωινθηρες ἐνταί.

Where Dr. Clarke says, *Non τον λεγομενον κομητην*, ut Scholiastes malè (and so likewise Mr. Pope translates it) *sed stellæ trajectionem*. The fall of Phaeton is illustrated with the same comparison by Ovid, Met. II. 320.

*Volvitur in præceps, longoque per aera tractu
 Fertur; ut interdum de cœlo stella sereno,
 Etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri.*

The breathless Phaeton, with flaming hair,
 Shot from the chariot, like a falling star,
 That in a summer's evening from the top
 Of Heav'n drops down, or seems at least to
 drop. Addison.

Milton adds that this shooting star *thwarts* or crosses the night *in autumn*, because then these phænomena are most common after the heat of summer, when the vapors taking fire make violent impressions and agitations in the air, and they usually portend tempestuous weather,

as

In autumn thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd
 Impress the air, and shows the mariner
 From what point of his compass to beware
 Impetuous winds: he thus began in haste. 560

Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given
 Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place
 No evil thing approach or enter in.
 This day at highth of noon came to my sphere
 A Spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know 565
 More of th' Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
 God's latest image: I describ'd his way
 Bent all on speed, and mark'd his aery gate;
 But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
 Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks 570
 Alien from Heav'n, with passions foul obscur'd:
 Mine

as Virgil himself has noted long ago, Georg.
 I. 365.

Sæpe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis
 Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per umbram
 Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus.

And oft before tempestuous winds arise,
 The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies;
 And shooting through the darkness gild the night
 With sweeping glories, and long trails of light.
 Dryden.

560. — *he thus began in haste.*] This abruptness is here very elegant and proper to express the haste that he was in.

561. — *thy course by lot*] He speaks as if the Angels had their particular courses and offices assign'd by lot, as the priests had in the service of the temple. See 1 Chron. XXIV. and Luke I. 8, 9.

563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Dr. Bentley objects, that the natural order is inverted,

Mine eye purfued him ftill, but under fhade
 Loft fight of him: one of the banifh'd crew,
 I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raife
 New troubles; him thy care muft be to find. 575

To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.
 Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect fight,
 Amid the fun's bright circle where thou fitteft,
 See far and wide: in at this gate none pafs
 The vigilance here plac'd, but fuch as come 580
 Well known from Heav'n; and fince meridian hour
 No creature thence: if Spirit of other fort,
 So minded, have o'erleap'd thefe earthy bounds
 On purpofe, hard thou know'ft it to exclude
 Spiritual fubftance with corporeal bar. 585
 But if within the circuit of thefe walks,

In

inverted, *enter* after *approach*; for if the very approach was ftopt, the entrance was impoffible. But the order feems rightly obferved in the common reading, if we allow the fenfe to be this, Not to fuffer any *evil thing to approach*, or at leaft to *enter in*. Pearce.

567. *God's lateft image*:] For the firft was Chrift, and before Man were the Angels. So in III. 151. Man is called God's *youngest fon*.

567. — *I defcrib'd his way*] Some read
 VOL. I.

defcry'd, but *defcrib'd* is propereft. He *defcrib'd* to Satan or fhew'd him the way to Paradife, as it is faid he did in III. 722, 733. *and mark'd his aery gate*; For it was fportive *in many an aery wheel*, as we read in the conclufion of the third book; and it was well taken notice of there, as fuch ufe is made of it here. And the fame we may obferve of the turbulent paffions discover'd in him on mount Niphates in this book, ver. 125—130. Uriel mark'd them then, and reports them now.

N n

590. *Return'd*

In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom
Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd
Bore him slope downward to the sun now fall'n 591
Beneath th' Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd

Diurnal,

590. *Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd*] He supposes, that he slides back on the same beam that he came upon; which sun-beam he considers not as a flowing punctum of light, but as a continued rod extending from sun to earth. The extremity of this rod, while Uriel was discoursing, and the sun gradually descending, must needs be raised up higher than when he came upon it; and consequently the rod bore him slope downward back again. This has been represented as a pretty device, but below the genius of Milton, [See Mr. Addison's remark on ver. 556.] To make Uriel descend, for more ease and expedition, both in his way from the sun, and to the sun again. But Milton had no such device here: he makes Uriel come from the sun, not on a descending, but on a level ray, ver. 541, from the sun's right aspect to the east in the very margin of the horizon. Here's no trick then or device; but perhaps a too great affectation to show his philosophy; as in the next lines, on this common occasion of the sun's setting, he starts a doubt whether that is produc'd in the Ptolemaic or Copernican way. But this little foible he makes ample amends for. Bentley.

592. *Beneath th' Azores;*] They are islands in the great Atlantic or western ocean; nine in number; commonly call'd the Terceras, from one of them. Some confound the Canaries with them. Hume and Richardson.

592. — *whether the prime orb, &c.*] The sun was now fall'n beneath th' Azores, with three syllables, for so it is to be pronounc'd: *whether*, not *whither* as in Milton's own editions, *the prime orb*, the sun, *had roll'd thither diurnal*, that is in a day's time, with an incredible swift motion; or *this less volúbil earth*, with the second syllable long as it is in the Latin *volubilis*,

Impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum.
Virg. Æn. VII. 382.

he writes it *voluble* when he makes the second syllable short as in IX. 436. *by shorter flight to the east, had left him there* at the Azores, it being a less motion for the earth to move from west to east upon its own axis according to the system of Copernicus, than for the Heavens and heavenly bodies to move from east to west according to the system of Ptolomy. Our author in like manner, III. 575. questions whether the sun was in the center of the world or not,

Diurnal, or this less volúbil earth,
 By shorter flight to th' east, had left him there 595
 Arraying with reflected purple' and gold
 The clouds that on his western throne attend.
 Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
 Had in her sober livery all things clad;
 Silence accompanied; for beast and bird, 600

They

not, so scrupulous was he in declaring for any system of philosophy.

598. *Now came still evening on, &c.*] This is the first evening in the poem; for the action of the preceding books lying out of the sphere of the sun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came first to the earth, and made that famous soliloquy at the beginning of this book, the sun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and surely there never was a finer evening; words cannot furnish out a more lovely description. The greatest poets in all ages have as it were vy'd one with another in their descriptions of evening and night; but for the variety of numbers and pleasing images I know of nothing parallel or comparable to this to be found among all the treasures of ancient or modern poetry. There is no need to point out the beauties of it; it must charm every body, who does but read it or hear it. I can recollect only one description fit to be mention'd after this, and that is of a fine moonshiny night by way of similitude in Homer, *Iliad VIII.* 551. where Mr. Pope has taken more than ordinary pains to make the translation excellent as the original.

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν ἔρανος ἀσρὰ φαεινὴν ἀμφι σελήνην
 Φαίνεται ἀριπρεπεία, ὅτε τ' ἐπλετο νηνεμος αἶθρη,
 Ἐκ τ' ἐφάνον πασαι σκοπιαί, καὶ πρῶονες ἀκροί,
 Καὶ ναπαὶ ἔρανοθεν δ' ἀρ' ὑπερραγὴ ἀσπετῶ
 αἶθρη,
 Πάντα δὲ τ' εἶδεται ἀσρὰ γέγηθε δὲ τε φρενα
 ποιμην.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
 O'er Heav'n's clear azure spreads her sacred
 light,

When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
 And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
 Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
 And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
 O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
 And tip with silver every mountain's head;
 Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
 A flood of glory bursts from all the skies:
 The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
 Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.

Milton's description, we see, leaves off, where Homer's begins; and tho' the quotation is somewhat long, yet I am persuaded the reader cannot but be pleas'd with it, as it is a sort of continuation of the same beautiful scene.

They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
 Were flunk, all but the wakeful nightingale ;
 She all night long her amorous descant sung ;
 Silence was pleas'd : now glow'd the firmament
 With living saphirs : Hesperus, that led 605
 The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon
 Rising in clouded majesty, at length
 Apparent queen unveil'd her peerless light,
 And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Consort, th' hour 610
 Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest
 Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
 Labor and rest, as day and night, to men
 Successive ; and the timely dew of sleep
 Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines 615
 Our eye-lids : other creatures all day long
 Rove idle unemploy'd, and less need rest ;
 Man hath his daily work of body' or mind
 Appointed,

627. *Our walk*] In the first edition it was *our walks*, in the second and all following *our walk*.

628. *That mock our scant manuring*,] Manuring is not here to be understood in the

common sense, but as working with hands, as the French *manouvrier* ; 'tis, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is scatter'd.

Richardson.

635. *My Author and Disposer*,] *For whom and*

Appointed, which declares his dignity,
 And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways; 620
 While other animals unactive range,
 And of their doings God takes no account.
 To morrow ere fresh morning streak the east
 With first approach of light, we must be risen,
 And at our pleasant labor, to reform 625
 Yon flow'ry arbors, yonder alleys green,
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
 That mock our scant manuring, and require
 More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:
 Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums, 630
 That lie bestrown unsightly and unsmooth,
 Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
 Mean while, as Nature wills, night bids us rest.
 To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty' adorn'd.
 My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst 635
 Unargued I obey; so God ordains;

God

and from whom I was form'd in our poet's own words, ver. 440. *My Author*, the author of my being, out of whom I was made. *Hume*. We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which is full of pleas-

ing images and sentiments suitable to their condition and characters. The speech of Eve in particular is dressed up in such a soft and natural turn of the words, as cannot be sufficiently admired, *Addison*.

640. *AK*

God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
 Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.
 With thee conversing I forget all time;
 All seasons and their change, all please alike. 640
 Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
 With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,
 When first on this delightful land he spreads
 His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
 Glist'ring with dew; fragrant the fertile earth 645
 After soft show'rs; and sweet the coming on
 Of grateful evening mild; then silent night
 With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
 And these the gems of Heav'n, her starry train:

But

640. *All seasons and their change,*] We should understand here the seasons of the day, and not of the year. So in VIII. 69. we read

His *seasons*, hours, or days, or months, or years:

and in IX. 200. he says Adam and Eve partake *the season prime for sweetest sents*, that is the morning. It was now an *eternal spring*, ver. 268. and we shall read in X. 677. of the changes made after the fall,

——— to bring in change
 Of seasons to each clime; else had the spring
 Perpetual smil'd on earth with vernal flowers.

And we may farther observe, that Eve in the following charming lines mentions *morning*, *evening*, *night*, the times of the day, and not the seasons of the year.

641. *Sweet is the breath of morn, &c.*] Mr. Dryden in his preface to Juvenal has observed upon our author, that he could not find any elegant turns in him either on the words or on the thoughts. But Mr. Addison in one of the Tatlers (N^o 114.) quotes this delightful passage in vindication of Milton, and remarks that the variety of images in it is infinitely pleasing, and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expression,

But neither breath of morn, when she ascends 650
 With charm of earliest birds; nor rising sun
 On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
 Glist'ring with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
 Nor grateful evening mild; nor silent night
 With this her solemn bird, nor walk by moon, 655
 Or glittering star-light without thee is sweet.
 But wherefore all night long shine these? for whom
 This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?
 To whom our general ancestor reply'd.
 Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve, 660
 These have their course to finish round the earth,
 By morrow evening, and from land to land

In

pression, makes one of the finest turns of words he had ever seen. He farther observes, that tho' the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind, as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow.

648. *With this her solemn bird,*] The nightingale, *most musical, most melancholy*, as he says elsewhere. She is call'd *the solemn nightingale*, VII. 435.

660. *Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve,*] Mr. Pope in his excellent notes upon Homer, B. 1. ver. 97. observes, that those appellations of praise and honor, with

which the heroes in Homer so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the stile of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

661. *These have their course*] I have presum'd to make a small alteration here in the text, and read *These*, though in most other editions and even in Milton's own I find *Those*; because it is said before, ver. 657.

But

In order, though to nations yet unborn,
 Ministring light prepar'd, they set and rise;
 Lest total darkness should by night regain 665
 Her old possession, and extinguish life
 In nature and all things, which these soft fires
 Not only' inlighten, but with kindly heat
 Of various influence foment and warm,
 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down 670
 Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
 On earth, made hereby apter to receive
 Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night, 674
 Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
 That Heav'n would want spectators, God want praise:
 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
 Unseen,

But wherefore all night long shine *these*?
 and afterwards, ver. 674.

These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
 Shine not in vain;

both which passages evince that *Those* here is
 an error of the press.

671. *Their stellar virtue*] As Milton was an
 universal scholar, so he had not a little affecta-
 tion of showing his learning of all kinds, and
 makes Adam discourse here somewhat like an

adept in astrology, which was too much the
 philosophy of his own times. What he says
 afterwards of numberless spiritual creatures
 walking the earth unseen, and joining in praises
 to their great Creator, is of a nobler strain,
 more agreeable to reason and revelation, as
 well as more pleasing to the imagination, and
 seems to be an imitation and improvement of
 old Hesiod's notion of good geniuses, the
 guardians of mortal men, clothed with air,
 wand'ring every where through the earth. See
 Hesiod, l. 120—125.

682. *Celestial*

Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
 Both day and night: how often from the steep 680
 Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note,
 Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk 685
 With heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds
 In full harmonic number join'd, their songs
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.

Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd
 On to their blissful bow'r; it was a place 690
 Chos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd
 All things to Man's delightful use; the roof
 Of

682. *Celestial voices to the midnight air,*] Singing to the midnight air. So in Virg. Ecl. I. 57.

— canet frondator ad auras.

For as Dr. Pearce observes there should be a comma after *note*, that the construction may be *Singing their great Creator to the midnight air*. And this notion of their singing thus by night is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, IV. 586.

VOL. I.

Quorum noctivago strepitu, ludoque jocanti
 Adfirmant volgò taciturna silentia rumpi,
 Chordarumque sonos fieri, dulcesque querelas,
 Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum.

688. *Divide the night,*] Into watches, as the trumpet did among the Ancients, founding as the watch was relieved, which was called *dividing the night*.

— cum buccina noctem
 Divideret. Sil. Ital. VII. 154. *Richardson.*
 O o 694. *Laurel*

Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
 Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side 695
 Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub
 Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
 Iris all hues, roses, and jessamin
 Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and wrought
 Mosaic; underfoot the violet, 700
 Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay
 Broider'd the ground, more color'd than with stone
 Of costliest emblem: other creature here,
 Beast,

694. *Laurel and myrtle,*] Virg. Ecl. II. 54.
 Et vos, ô lauri, carpam, et te proxima myrte,
 Sic positæ quoniam suaves miscetis odores.

Hume.

698. *Iris*] The flower-de-luce so call'd from
 resembling the colors of the Iris or rainbow.
Iris all hues, that is *of all hues*, as a little be-
 fore we have *inwoven shade laurel and myrtle*,
 that is *inwoven shade of laurel and myrtle*.
 Such omissions are frequent in Milton.

700. — *the violet,*

Crocus, and hyacinth] Our author has taken
 this from Homer, who makes the same sort
 of flowers to spring up under Jupiter and Juno
 as they lay in conjugal embraces upon mount
 Ida, Iliad. XIV. 347.

Τοισι δ' ὑπο χθων δία φυν νεοθηλεα ποιην,
 Δωτον δ' ερσηνλα, ιδε κροκον, ηδ' υακινθον
 Πυκνον και μαλακον' ος απο χθονος υψος' εεργε.

Glad earth perceives, and from her bosom
 pours

Unbidden herbs, and voluntary flow'rs;
 Thick new-born violets a soft carpet spread,
 And clustring lotos swell'd the rising bed,
 And sudden hyacinths the turf bestrow,
 And flaming crocus made the mountain glow.

Where Mr. Pope remarks that in our author
 the very turn of Homer's verses is observed,
 and the cadence, and almost the words finely
 translated.

703. *Of costliest emblem:*] *Emblem* is here
 in the Greek and Latin sense for inlaid floors
 of stone or wood, to make figures mathema-
 tical or pictural:

Arte pavimenti atque emblemate vermiculato.
 Bentley.

705. — *In shadier bower*] So it is in the
 first

Beast, bird, insect, or worm durst enter none;
 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower 705
 More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,
 Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph,
 Nor Faunus haunted. Here in close recess
 With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs
 Espoused Eve deck'd first her nuptial bed, 710
 And heav'nly quires the hymenæan sung,
 What day the genial Angel to our fire
 Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd,
 More lovely than Pandora, whom the Gods
 Endow'd

first edition; in the second we read *In shadie bower*, but with such a space as is not usual between two words, as if the letter r had occupy'd the room, and by some accident had made no impression. *In shadier bower* marks more strongly the shadiness as well as the retiredness of the place, and the shadiness is a principal circumstance of the description, and the bower is seldom mention'd but it is called *shady bower*, III. 734. V. 367, 375. *shady lodge*, IV. 720. *shady arborous roof*, V. 137. The purport of the simile then is this, There never was a more shady, more sacred and sequester'd bower, though but in fiction, than this was in reality. *Pan*, the God of shepherds, or *Sylvanus*, the God of woods and groves, *Wood-nymph*, or *Faunus*, the tutelary God of husbandmen, were not even feign'd to enjoy a more sweet recess than this of Adam and Eve.

709. *With flowers*,] Milton usually spells it *flours*, but here it is with two syllables *flowers*, which made me imagin that he writ always *flour* when it was to be pronounc'd as one syllable, and *flower* when it was to be pronounc'd as two syllables: but upon farther examination we find, that when he pronounces the word as one syllable, he sometimes spells it *flower* *flow'r*, sometimes *floure*, sometimes *flower*: and so likewise *bower* he spells differently *bower*, *bawr*, *bowre*; and *shower* likewise *shower*, *showr*, *showre*. It is fitting that all these should be reduced to some certain standard, and what standard more proper than the present practice, and especially since there are several instances of the same in Milton himself?

714. *More lovely than Pandora, &c.*] The story is this. Prometheus the son of *Japhet* (or

Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like 715
 In sad event, when to th' unwiser son
 Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she insnar'd
 Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
 On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood, 720
 Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd
 The God that made both sky, air, earth and heaven,
 Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
 And starry pole: Thou also mad'st the night,
 Maker

(or Japetus) had stol'n fire from Heaven, *Jove's authentic fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be reveng'd sent him *Pandora*, so call'd because all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for so the word signifies). She was brought by *Hermes* (Mercury) but was not received by Prometheus the wiser son of *Japhet* (as the name implies) but by his brother Epimetheus *th' unwiser son*. She entic'd his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contain'd all manner of evils. *Richardson.*

The epithet *unwiser* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton uses *unwiser*, as any Latin writer would *imprudenter*, for *not so wise as he should have been*. So *audacior*, *timidior*, *vehementior*, *iracundior*, &c. mean *bolder*, &c. *quam par est*, than is right and fit, and imply less than *audax*, *timidus*, &c. in the positive degree. *Fortin.*

720. *Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood,*

Both turn'd, &c.] A great admirer of Milton observes, that he sometimes places two monosyllables at the end of the line stopping at the fourth foot, to adapt the measure of the verse to the sense; and then begins the next line in the same manner, which has a wonderful effect. This artful manner of writing makes the reader see them *stand* and *turn* to worship God before they went into their bower. If this manner was alter'd, much of the effect of the painting would be lost.

And now arriving at their shady lodge
 Both stood, both turn'd, and under open sky
 Ador'd the God &c.

723. — *the moon's resplendent globe,*
And starry pole:] Virg. *Æn.* VI. 725.

Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra.

724 — *thou*

Maker omnipotent, and thou the day, 725
 Which we in our appointed work employ'd
 Have finish'd, happy in our mutual help
 And mutual love, the crown of all our blifs
 Ordain'd by thee, and this delicious place
 For us too large, where thy abundance wants 730
 Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
 But thou hast promis'd from us two a race
 To fill the earth, who shall with us extol
 Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,

And

724. — *Thou also mad'st the night, &c.*] A masterly transition this, which the poet makes to their evening worship. Most of the modern heroic poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a speech without premising, that the person said thus and thus; but as it is easy to imitate the Ancients in the omission of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be missed, and that the speech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine instance of this kind out of Homer, in the 23d chapter of Longinus.

Addison.

I conceive Mr. Addison meant Sect. 27. and the instance there given is of Hector being first nam'd, and then of a sudden introduced as speaking, without any notice given that he does so. But the transition here in Milton is of another sort; it is first speaking of a person, and then suddenly turning the discourse, and speaking to him. And we may observe the like transi-

tion from the third to the second person in the hymn to Hercules, Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 291.

— ut duros mille labores

Pertulerit. Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimbres &c.

729. — *and this delicious place*] Dr. Bentley reads *Thou this delicious place*, that is *Thou mad'st &c.* as in ver. 724. *Thou also mad'st the night.* Dr. Pearce chooses rather to read thus,

— the crown of all our blifs

Ordain'd by thee *in* this delicious place.

The construction no doubt is somewhat obscure, but without any alteration we may understand the passage with Dr. Pearce thus, *and thou mad'st this delicious place*: or with Mr. Richardson thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love*, the chief of all our blifs, thy gift, *and happy in this delicious Paradise*: or thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the crown*

And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep. 735

This said unanimous, and other rites
 Observing none, but adoration pure
 Which God likes best, into their inmost bower
 Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off
 These troublesome disguises which we wear, 740
 Strait side by side were laid; nor turn'd I ween
 Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites
 Mysterious of connubial love refus'd:
 Whatever hypocrites austerely talk
 Of purity and place and innocence, 745

Defaming

crown of all our blifs, and of this delicious place.

735. — *thy gift of sleep.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the gift*, and observes that it is word for word from Homer, who has the expression frequently:

Κοιμησαντ' ἀρ' ἐπειτα, καὶ ὑπνὸς δῶρον ἐλοντο.

But *thy gift* is right, for in ver. 612. Milton says that *God hath set labor and rest to men successive*; therefore sleep is *God's gift*: and Virgil (whom Milton oftner imitates than Homer) says of sleep,

—dono Divûm gratissima serpit. Æn. II. 269.
Pearce.

744. *Whatever hypocrites &c.*] Our author calls those, who under a notion of greater pu-

rity and perfection decry and forbid marriage as they do in the Church of Rome, *hypocrites*; and says afterwards that it is the doctrine of *our Destroyer*, in allusion to that text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. IV. 1, 2, 3. *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and doctrines of Devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, &c.*

750. *Hail wedded Love, &c.*] An ingenious friend has inform'd me, that this address to wedded love is borrow'd from one of Tasso's letters; *O dolce congiuntione de' cuori, o soave unione de gli animi nostri, o legitimo nodo, &c.* The quotation would swell this note to too great a length; but the reader, who understands Italian, may, if he please, compare the original

Defaming as impure what God declares
 Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
 Our Maker bids increase; who bids abstain
 But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man?
 Hail wedded Love, mysterious law, true source 750
 Of human offspring, sole propriety
 In Paradise of all things common else.
 By thee adult'rous lust was driv'n from men
 Among the bestial herds to range; by thee
 Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure, 755
 Relations dear, and all the charities

Of

original with our author, and he will easily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting some circumstances as in imitating others. It is in one of Tasso's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Tasso, Lib. 2. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592.

750. — *mysterious law*,] That is including a mystery in it, in the same sense as *mysterious rites* are spoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul's calling matrimony a *mystery*, Eph. V. 32. No need then for Dr. Bentley's *mysterious league*: and his objection, that a *law* supposed to be *mysterious* is no law at all, is easily answer'd; for by *mysterious* he (Dr. Bentley) means, itself *hidden* or *conceal'd*; and Milton means, containing some hidden meaning in it, besides the plain precept which appear'd.

Pearce.

752. — *of all things common else*.] Dr. Bentley reads *'mong all things*; but *of* signifies *among* in this place, as it does in ver. 411. and in V. 659. VI. 24. and elsewhere.

Pearce.

756. — *and all the charities*] *Charities* is used in the Latin signification, and like *caritates* comprehends all the relations, all the endearments of consanguinity and affinity, as in Cicero De Officiis, I. 17. *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.* It is used likewise in this manner in the Italian, and by Tasso in the place which our author is here imitating, *Ma la charita del fgliuolo, e del padre.*

761. *Whose*

Of father, son, and brother first were known.
 Far be' it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
 Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets, 760
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,
 Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs us'd.
 Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile 765
 Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unindear'd,
 Casual fruition; nor in court amours,

Mix'd

761. *Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,*] In allusion to Heb. XIII. 4. *Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled.* And Milton must have had a good opinion of marriage, or he would never have had three wives. And tho' this panegyric upon wedded love may be condemn'd as a digression, yet it can hardly be call'd a digression, when it grows so naturally out of the subject, and is introduced so properly, while the action of the poem is in a manner suspended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to sleep; and if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by such digressions as this and that upon hypocrisy at the latter part of the third book.

769. *Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings*] We commonly say *serenade* with the French, but Milton keeps, as usual, the

Italian word *serenate*, which the starv'd lover sings, *starv'd* as this compliment was commonly pay'd in *sereno*, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumstance, Od. III. X. 1.

Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
 Sævo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
 Proiectum ante fores objicere incolis
 Plorares aquilonibus:

and in another of his odes he has preserved a fragment of one of these songs, Od. I. XXV. 7.

Me tuq longas pereunte noctes,
 Lydia, dormis.

776. *Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and lessening all the way ends in a point. This is the form of the shadow of the earth, the

Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
 Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain. 770
 These lull'd by nightingales embracing slept,
 And on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof
 Show'rd roses, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,
 Blest pair; and O yet happiest, if ye seek
 No happier state, and know to know no more. 775

Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone
 Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault,
 And from their ivory port the Cherubim

Forth

the base of the cone standing upon that side of the globe where the sun is not, and consequently when 'tis night there. This cone to those who are on the darken'd side of the earth, could it be seen, would mount as the sun fell lower, and be at its utmost highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The shadowy cone had now arisen half way, consequently supposing it to be about the time when the days and nights were of equal length (as it was X. 329.) it must be now about nine o'clock, the usual time of the Angels setting their sentries, as it immediately follows. This is marking the time very poetically.

Richardson.

777. *Half way up hill*] The expression is something dark, but it's right. *Half way up hill*, half way towards midnight, the third hour of the night; *th' accustom'd hour* for the

VOL. I.

first military watch to take their rounds. Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. I. Cant. 2. St. I.

Phœbus was climbing up the eastern *hill*.

Bentley.

777. — *this vast sublunar vault*,] For the shadow of the earth sweeps as it were the whole arch or vault of Heaven between the earth and moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the moon, as appears from the lunar eclipses.

778. *And from their ivory port &c.*] We cannot conceive that here is any allusion to the ivory gate of sleep, mention'd by Homer and Virgil, from whence false dreams proceeded; for the poet could never intend to insinuate that what he was saying about the angelic guards was all a fiction. As the rock was of alabaster, ver. 543. so he makes the gate of ivory, which was very proper for an eastern gate,

P p

Forth issuing at th' accustom'd hour stood arm'd
 To their night watches in warlike parade, 780
 When Gabriel to his next in pow'r thus spake.

Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
 With strictest watch; these other wheel the north;
 Our circuit meets full west. As flame they part,
 Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear. 785
 From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he call'd
 That near him stood, and gave them thus in charge.

Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd speed
 Search through this garden, leave unsearch'd no nook;
 But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge, 790
 Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harm.

This

gate, as the finest ivory cometh from the east;
India mittit ebur, Virg. Georg. I. 57. and
 houses and palaces of ivory are mention'd as
 instances of magnificence in Scripture, as are
 likewise doors of ivory in Ovid, Met. IV. 185.

Lemnius extemplo valvas patefecit eburnas.

782. *Uzziel*,] The next commanding Angel
 to Gabriel; his name in Hebrew is *the strength*
of God, as all God's mighty Angels are.

Hume.

784. — *As flame they part*,] This break
 in the verse is excellently adapted to the sub-
 ject. They part as the flame divides into se-

parate wreaths. A short simile, but expres-
 sive of their quickness and rapidity, and of
 their brightness and the splendor of their ar-
 mour at the same time. Homer in the second
 book of the Iliad compares the march of the
 Trojans to the flame, but this simile is better
 suited to those beings, of whom the Scripture
 says, *He maketh his angels spirits, and his mini-*
sters a flame of fire.

785. *Half wheeling to the shield, half to the*
spear.] *Declinare ad hastam vel ad scu-*
tum. Livy. to wheel to the right or left.

Hume.

As all the Angels stood in the eastern gate,
 their

This evening from the sun's decline arriv'd
 Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
 Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) escap'd
 The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt: 795
 Such where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,
 Dazling the moon; these to the bow'r direct
 In search of whom they fought: him there they found
 Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, 800
 Assaying by his devilish art to reach
 The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
 Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams,
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint

Th'animal

their right hand was to the north, *to the spear*; their left hand to the south, *to the shield*. From *these* that wheel'd to the spear Gabriel calls out two: He himself then was in that company. *Shield* and *spear* for left hand and right, while the men are supposed in arms, gives a dignity of expression, more than the common words have. Bentley.

788. *Ithuriel and Zephon*,] Two Angels having their names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel* in Hebrew *the discovery of God*. *Zephon* in Hebrew *a secret or searcher of secrets*.

Hume.

796. — and *hither* bring.] Dr. Bentley

reads *thither* to the opposite side, the west; where the parting squadrons would meet after their half circuits; and accordingly (says he) they brought Satan thither, to the *western point*, ver. 862. But there are twelve lines since the *west* was mention'd, and that was in another speech, at too great a distance for *thither* to be referred to it. It is not mention'd in this speech, and I see no reason why we may not understand these words with Mr. Richardson, *bring hither* that is to me wheresoever I happen to be.

804. Or if, *inspiring venom*, &c.] So Virg. *Æn.* VII. 351. where the serpent, that the
 P p 2 fury

Th' animal spirits that from pure blood arise 805
 Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
 Blown up with high conceits ingendring pride.
 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear 810
 Touch'd lightly; for no falshood can indure
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns
 Of force to its own likeness: up he starts
 Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark
 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid 815
 Fit for the tun some magazine to store
 Against a rumor'd war, the smutty grain
 With sudden blaze diffus'd inflames the air:
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.

Back

fury Aleto had flung upon Amata, creeps
 softly over her,

Vipeream inspirans animam —

Pertentat sensus. *Richardson.*

The construction is, Assaying to reach the organs of fancy, and so to work upon her by phantasms and dreams; or (assaying) if he might taint the animal spirits, which arise from pure blood as soft and gentle airs from

clear rivers, and by tainting the animal spirits might raise at least vain thoughts, if not sinful actions.

816. *Fit for the tun*] 'Tis commonly call'd a *barrel*: but Milton for the sake of his verse, and perhaps for the sake of a less vulgar term, calls it a *tun* from the French *tonneau*, any cask or vessel.

819. *So started up in his own shape the Fiend.*] His

Back slept those two fair Angels half amaz'd 820

So sudden to behold the grisly king ;

Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accost him soon.

Which of those rebel Spi'rits adjudg'd to Hell
Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison? and transform'd,

Why satst thou like an enemy in wait, 825

Here watching at the head of these that sleep?

Know ye not then, said Satan fill'd with scorn,

Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate

For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar:

Not to know me argues yourselves unknown, 830

The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,

Why ask ye, and superfluous begin

Your message, like to end as much in vain?

To whom thus Zephon, answ'ring scorn with scorn.

Think

His planting himself at the ear of Eve under the form of a toad, in order to produce vain dreams and imaginations, is a circumstance that surprises the reader; as his starting up in his own form is wonderfully fine, both in the literal description, and in the moral which is concealed under it. His answer, upon his being discover'd and demanded to give an account of himself, is conformable to the pride and intrepidity of his character. Zephon's re-

buke, with the influence it had on Satan, is exquisitely graceful and moral. *Addison.*

834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to answer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occasion. Ithuriel with his spear restor'd the Fiend to his own shape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been so well, if the same person had done both.

835. *Think*

Think not, revolted Spi'rit, thy shape the same, 835
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,
 As when thou stood'st in Heav'n upright and pure;
 That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
 Departed from thee; and thou resemblest now
 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul. 840
 But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account
 To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
 This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
 Severe in youthful beauty, added grace 845
 Invincible: abash'd the Devil stood,
 And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
 Virtue' in her shape how lovely; saw, and pin'd
 His

835. *Think not, revolted Spi'rit, thy shape the same,*

Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,] Dr. Bentley judges rightly enough that the present reading is faulty; for if the words *thy shape the same* are in the ablative case put absolutely, it is necessary that *undiminish'd* should follow *brightness*: and accordingly the Doctor reads *Or brightness undiminish'd*; which order of the words we must follow, unless it may be thought as small an alteration to read thus,

*Think not, revolted Spi'rit, by shape the same
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,*

just as in l. 732. we have

— his hand was *known*
In Heav'n by many a towred structure high.

Pearce:

But without any alteration may we not understand *shape* and *brightness* as in the accusative case after the verb *think*? Think not thy shape the same, or undiminish'd brightness to

His loss; but chiefly to find here observ'd
 His lustre visibly impair'd; yet seem'd 850
 Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,
 Best with the best, the sender not the sent,
 Or all at once; more glory will be won,
 Or less be lost. Thy fear, said Zephon bold,
 Will save us trial what the least can do 855
 Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.

The Fiend reply'd not, overcome with rage;
 But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,
 Champing his iron curb: to strive or fly
 He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd 860
 His heart, not else dismay'd. Now drew they nigh
 The western point, where those half-rounding guards
 Just

to be known now, as it was formerly in Heaven.

845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*]
 Virg. *Æn.* V. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. *Virtue in her shape how lovely; &c.*]
 What is said here of *seeing Virtue in her shape how lovely* is manifestly borrow'd from Plato and Cicero, *Formam quidem ipsam & quasi faciem honesti vides, quæ si oculis cerneretur,*

mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret sapientiæ. Cic. de Off. I. 5. as what follows, saw and pin'd his loss, is an imitation of Juvenal,

Virtutem videant intabescantque relicta.

858. — *went haughty on,*] Satan is afterwards led to Gabriel, the chief of the guardian Angels, who kept watch in Paradise. His disdainful behaviour on this occasion is so remarkable a beauty, that the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of it.

Addison.

865. *Gabriel*

Just met, and closing stood in squadron join'd,
 Awaiting next command. To whom their chief
 Gabriël from the front thus call'd aloud. 865

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
 Hastening this way, and now by glimpse discern
 Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade,
 And with them comes a third of regal port,
 But faded splendor wan; who by his gate 870
 And fierce demeanour seems the prince of Hell,
 Not likely to part hence without contest;
 Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He scarce had ended, when those two approach'd,
 And brief related whom they brought, where found,
 How

865. *Gabriël from the front*] *Gabriel* is pronounced here as a word of three syllables, tho' commonly it is used as only of two; a liberty which Milton takes in the names of the Angels.

866. *O friends, I hear &c.*] *Gabriel's* discovering *Satan's* approach at a distance is drawn with great strength and liveliness of imagination. *Addison.*

The learned Mr. Upton in his *Critical Observations on Shakespear* remarks that Milton in this whole episode keeps close to his master Homer, who sends out Ulysses and Diomedes into the Trojan camp as spies, *Iliad. X. 533.*

Ω φίλοι ———

Ἰππων μ' ὠκυποδῶν ἀμφὶ κλυτὰ σατα βαλλεῖ.
 O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet.

Οὐπω πάντες εἰρητοῦσιν, οὐτ' ἀρ' ἤλυθον αὐτοί.

ver. 540.

He scarce had ended when those two approach'd.

877. — *with stern regard*] Answering to the Homeric δεινὸν δ' ἐρχομένῳ, *Iliad. III.* and ὑποδραῖδων, *torve intuitus, Iliad. IV. Hume.*

878. — *broke the bounds prescrib'd*

To thy transgressions,] Dr. Bentley reads *transcursions*; and Mr. Richardson understands *transgressions* in the same sense. But as Dr. Pearce observes,

How busied, in what form and posture couch'd. 876

To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake.
 Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd
 To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge
 Of others, who approve not to transgress 880
 By thy example, but have pow'r and right
 To question thy bold entrance on this place;
 Employ'd it seems to violate sleep, and those
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?

To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow. 885
 Gabriel, thou hadst in Heav'n th'esteem of wise,
 And such I held thee; but this question ask'd
 Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?

Who

observes, though it is right to say that *bounds* are *prescrib'd* to hinder *transcursions*, yet I think it is not proper to say, that *bounds* are *prescrib'd to transcursions*. And the common reading is justifiable: for though (as Dr. Bentley says) no bounds could be set to Satan's *transgressions*, but he could transgress in his thought and mind every moment; yet it is good sense, if Milton meant (as I suppose he did) that the bounds of Hell were by God prescrib'd to Satan's transgressions, so as that it was intended he should transgress no where else, but *within* those bounds; whereas he was now attempting to transgress *without* them. And by this in-

Vol. I.

terpretation we shall not understand *transgressions* in the sense of the pure Latin, and *transgress* in the very next line in the usual English acceptation, but shall affix the same notion both to the one and the other.

883. — *to violate sleep*,] Shakespear in Macbeth has a stronger expression, *to murder sleep*; both equally proper in the places where they are employ'd.

887. — *but this question ask'd*

Puts me in doubt.] Homer: Thou seem'dst a wise man formerly, Νυν δ' ἀφρονι φῶτι εἶσιναι.
 Bentley.

Q q

892. — *to*

Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,
 Though thither doom'd? Thou wouldst thyself, no
 And boldly venture to whatever place [doubt,
 Farthest from pain, where thou might'st hope to change
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompense
 Dole with delight, which in this place I fought;
 To thee no reason, who know'st only good, 895
 But evil hast not try'd: and wilt object
 His will who bound us? let him surer bar
 His iron gates, if he intends our stay
 In that dark durance: thus much what was ask'd.
 The rest is true, they found me where they say; 900
 But that implies not violence or harm.

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,
 Disdainfully half smiling thus reply'd.
 O loss of one in Heav'n to judge of wise,
 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew, 905
 And now returns him from his prison scap'd,
 Gravely

892. — to change
Torment with ease,] We commonly say to
 change one thing for another, and Dr. Bent-
 ley would read *for ease* in this place: but *to*
change torment with ease is according to the

Latins, whom Milton often follows. *Glandem*
mutavit aristâ. - Virg. Georg. I. 8.

896. — and wilt object
His will who bound us?] If these words are
 to be read with a note of interrogation as in all
 the

Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
 Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither
 Unlicenc'd from his bounds in Hell prescrib'd;
 So wise he judges it to fly from pain 910
 However, and to scape his punishment.

So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,
 Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight
 Sev'nfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
 Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain 915
 Can equal anger infinite provok'd.

But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
 Came not all Hell broke loose? is pain to them
 Less pain, less to be fled? or thou than they
 Less hardy to indure? courageous Chief, 920
 The first in flight from pain, hadst thou alledg'd
 To thy deserted host this cause of flight,
 Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus answer'd frowning stern.
 Not

the editions, *thou* must be understood, and Dr. Bentley chooses to read *and wilt thou' object*. It is a concise way of speaking somewhat like that in II. 730. *and know'st for whom*. But I have sometimes thought that

the passage may be read without the note of interrogation, by joining it in construction with what goes before; but asking the question gives a spirit and quickness to it.

Not that I less indure, or shrink from pain, 925
 Insulting Angel; well thou know'st I stood
 Thy fiercest, when in battel to thy aid
 The blasting volied thunder made all speed,
 And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.
 But still thy words at random, as before, 930
 Argue thy inexperience what behoves
 From hard assays and ill successes past
 A faithful leader, not to hazard all
 Through ways of danger by himself untry'd:
 I therefore, I alone first undertook 935
 To wing the desolate abyss, and spy
 This new created world, whereof in Hell
 Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
 Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
 To settle here on earth, or in mid air; 940
 Though for possession put to try once more
 What thou and thy gay legions dare against;
 Whose

926. — *well thou know'st I stood*
Thy fiercest,] Dr. Bentley reads *The fiercest*,
 that is pain: but *Thy fiercest* is right, and we
 may understand it with Dr. Pearce *Thy fiercest*
attack, or with Mr. Richardson *Thy fiercest*

enemy. *Fiercest* is used as a substantive, as our
 author often uses adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives
 several instances, II. 278. *The sensible of pain.*
 XI. 4. *The stony from their hearts.* XI. 497.
His best of man.

928. *The*

Whose easier businefs were to serve their Lord
 High up in Heav'n, with songs to hymn his throne,
 And practic'd distances to cringe, not fight. 945

To whom the warrior Angel soon reply'd.
 To say and strait unsay, pretending first
 Wise to fly pain, professing next the spy,
 Argues no leader but a liar trac'd,
 Satan, and couldst thou faithful add? O name, 950
 O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!
 Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
 Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.
 Was this your disciplin and faith engag'd,
 Your military obedience, to dissolve 955
 Allegiance to th' acknowledg'd Pow'r supreme?
 And thou, fly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
 Patron of liberty, who more than thou
 Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servily ador'd
 Heav'n's awful monarch? wherefore but in hope 960
 To

928. *The blasting*] Thus 'tis in the first edition, the second has it *Thy*; but 'tis wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabouts, and probably occasion'd the mistake. The sense requires it to be *The*. *Richardson*.

945. *And practic'd distances to cringe, not fight.*] *With* is understood. *With songs to hymn his throne, and with practic'd distances to cringe, not fight.* Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken it.

To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?
 But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;
 Fly thither whence thou fledst: if from this hour
 Within these hallow'd limits thou appear,
 Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chain'd, 965
 And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn
 The facil gates of Hell too slightly barr'd.

So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats
 Gave heed, but waxing more in rage reply'd.

Then when I am thy captive talk of chains, 970
 Proud limitary Cherub, but ere then
 Far heavier load thyself expect to feel

From

962. — *arreed*] To decree, to award.

965. — *I drag thee*] The present tense used for the future, to signify the immediate execution of the menace. Hume.

A Latinism, and very emphatical. *Quæ prima pericula vito*. Virg. *Æn.* III. 367. *Cui famula trador? Quem dominum voco?* Senec. *Troad.* 473. Richardson.

966. *And seal thee so,*] This seems to allude to the chaining of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, mention'd in the Revelation: *And he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him,* XX. 3. Hume.

971. *Proud limitary Cherub,*] Thou proud prescribing Angel that presumest to limit me,

and appoint my prison, according to Mr. Hume. Or rather *limitary*, set to guard the bounds; a taunt insulting the good Angel as one employ'd on a little mean office, according to Mr. Richardson. For *limitary* (as Dr. Heylin remarks) is from *limitaneus*. *Milites limitanei* are soldiers in garrison upon the frontiers. So *Dux limitaneus*. Digest.

974. *Ride on thy wings, &c.*] This seems to allude to Ezekiel's vision, where four Cherubims are appointed to the four wheels: *And the Cherubims did lift up their wings, and the wheels besides them, and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above.* See Chap. I. and X. and XI. 22.

977. *While*

From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's king
 Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
 Us'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels 975
 In progress through the road of Heav'n star-pav'd.

While thus he spake, th' angelic squadron bright
 Turn'd fiery red, sharp'ning in mooned horns
 Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
 With ported spears, as thick as when a field 980
 Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
 Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind
 Sways them; the careful plowman doubting stands,
 Left on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves

Prove

977. *While thus he spake, &c.*] The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two speakers. Satan clothing himself with terror, when he prepares for the combat, is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer's description of Discord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their feet standing upon the earth, and their heads reaching above the clouds. *Addison.*

980. *With ported spears,*] With their spears born pointed towards him. A military term.

Hume.
 980. — *as thick as when a field &c.*] It is familiar with the poets to compare an army

with their spears and swords to a field of standing corn. Homer has a simile much of the same nature, comparing the motions of the army after Agamemnon's speech to the waving of the ears of corn. *Iliad. II. 147.*

Ὡς δ' ὅτε κινήσει Ζεφύρος βαθυ λήϊον ἐλθὼν
 λαβρὸς ἐπαιγίζων, ἐπὶ τ' ἡμυεῖ ἀσαχυστίν·
 Ὡς τῶν πᾶσ' ἀγορῇ κινήθη.

And as on corn when western gusts descend,
 Before the blast the lofty harvests bend:
 Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
 With nodding plumes and groves of waving
 spears. Pope.

987. *Like*

Prove chaff. On th' other side Satan alarm'd 985
 Collecting all his might dilated stood,
 Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:
 His stature reach'd the sky, and on his crest
 Sat horror plum'd; nor wanted in his grasp
 What seem'd both spear and shield: now dreadful deeds
 Might have ensued, nor only Paradise 991
 In

987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:*] Well may Satan be liken'd to the greatest mountains, and be said to stand as firm and immoveable as they, when Virgil has applied the same comparison to his hero, *Æn.* XII. 701.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse
 coruscis

Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
 Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he shows,
 Or father Apennine, when white with snows,
 His head divine obscure in clouds he hides,
 And shakes the sounding forest on his sides.

Dryden.

Mr. Hume says that the Peak of Teneriff is fifteen miles high, and Mr. Richardson asserts that it is 45 miles perpendicular, if that be not a false print 45 for 15: but the utmost that we can suppose is that it is 15 miles from the very first ascent of the hill till you come thro' the various turnings and windings to the top of all; for I have been assur'd from a gentleman who measur'd it, that the perpendicular highth of it is no more than one mile and three quarters.

988. *His stature reach'd the sky,*] It is pro-

bable that besides Homer's Discord, *Iliad.* IV. 443.

Οὐρανὸν ἐσηρξέε καρῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαυσε,

and Virgil's Fame, *Æn.* IV. 177.

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila
 condit,

mention'd in a note above by Mr. Addison, he alluded likewise to that noble description in the book of Wisdom, XVIII. 16. *It touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.*

989. *Sat horror plum'd;*] Horror is personify'd, and is made the plume of his helmet; and how much nobler an idea is this than the horses tails and sphynxes and dragons and other terrible animals on the helmets of the ancient heroes, or even than the Chimæra vomiting flames on the crest of Turnus, *Æn.* VII. 785.

Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta Chimæram
 Sustinet, *Ætnæos* efflantem faucibus ignes.

A triple pile of plumes his crest adorn'd,
 On which with belching flames Chimæra
 burn'd! Dryden.

989. — *nor wanted in his grasp &c.*] This is said to signify that he wanted not arms, tho' he was but just raised out of the form of a toad.

In this commotion, but the starry cope
 Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the elements
 At least had gone to wrack, disturb'd and torn
 With violence of this conflict, had not soon 995
 Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
 Hung forth in Heav'n his golden scales, yet seen
 Betwixt Aftrea and the Scorpion sign,

Wherein

toad. He was represented as in arms, II. 812. when he was upon the point of engaging with Death; and we must suppose that his power, as an Angel, was such, that he could assume them upon occasion whenever he pleased.

991. — *nor only Paradise &c.*] This representation of what must have happen'd, if Gabriel and Satan had encounter'd, is imaged in these few lines with a nobleness suitable to the occasion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he represents the terrors which must have attended the conflict of two such powers as Jupiter and Neptune, Iliad. XV. 224.

— *μαλα γαρ κε μαχης επυθοντο και αλλοι,
 Οιπερ νερτεροι εισι θεοι, Κρονον αμφις εοντες.*

And all the Gods that round old Saturn dwell,
 Had heard the thunders to the deeps of Hell.
 Pope.

996. *Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray*] The breaking off the combat between Gabriel and Satan, by the hanging out of the golden scales in Heaven, is a refinement upon Homer's thought, who tells us that before the battel between Hector and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the event of it in a pair of scales. The reader may see the whole passage in the 22d Iliad. Virgil before the last decisive com-
 VOL. I.

bat describes Jupiter in the same manner, as weighing the fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, tho' he fetch'd this beautiful circumstance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only insert it as a poetical embellishment, like the authors above mention'd; but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his fable, and for the breaking off the combat between the two warriors, who were upon the point of engaging. To this we may further add, that Milton is the more justify'd in this passage, as we find the same noble allegory in holy Writ, where a wicked prince, some few hours before he was assaulted and slain, is said to have been *weighed in the scales, and to have been found wanting.* Addison.

997. — *his golden scales,*] So they are in Homer χρυσεια παλαντα, both where he weighs the destinies of the Greeks and Trojans in book the 8th, and the fates of Hector and Achilles in book the 22d. And this figure of weighing the destinies of men appear'd so beautiful to succeeding poets, that Æschylus (as we are inform'd by Plutarch in his treatise of *Hearing the poets*) writ a tragedy upon this foundation, which he intitled ψυχασια or *the weighing of souls.*

998. *Betwixt Aftrea and the Scorpion sign,*
 R r *Libra*

Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,
 The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air 1000
 In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
 Battels

Libra or the Scales is one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, as *Astrea* (or *Virgo* the Virgin) and *Scorpio* also are. This does as it were realize the fiction, and gives consequently a greater force to it. *Richardson.*

This allusion to the sign *Libra* in the Heavens is a beauty that is not in *Homer* or *Virgil*, and gives this passage a manifest advantage over both their descriptions.

999. *Wherein all things created first he weigh'd, &c.*] This of weighing the creation at first and of all events since gives us a sublime idea of providence, and is conformable to the stile of Scripture, *Job. XXVIII. 25. To make the weight for the winds, and he weigheth the waters by measure. Chap. XXXVII. 16. Dost thou know the balancings of the clouds? Isaiah XL. 12. Who weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?* And then for weighing particular events since see *1 Sam. II. 3. By him actions are weigh'd. Prov. XVI. 2. The Lord weigheth the spirits.* I do not recollect an instance of *weighing battels* particularly, but there is foundation enough for that in *Homer* and *Virgil* as we have seen; and then for *weighing kingdoms* we see an instance in *Belshazzar*, and it is said expressly, *Dan. V. 26, 27. God hath number'd thy kingdom, and finish'd it, thou art weighed in the balances.* So finely hath *Milton* improv'd upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of holy Scripture.

1003. *The sequel each of parting and of fight;]* *Dr. Bentley* reads *The signal each &c.* To understand which of these two readings suits the place best, let us consider the poet's thought,

which was this: God put in the golden scales two weights: in the one scale he put the weight, which was the *sequel* (that is represented the consequence) of Satan's *parting* from them; in the other scale he put the weight, which was the *sequel* of Satan's *fighting*: neither of the scales had any thing in it immediately relating to *Gabriel*: and therefore *Dr. Bentley* mistakes (I think) when he says, that the ascending weight, Satan's, was the *signal* to him of defeat; the descending, *Gabriel's*, the *signal* to him of victory: they were both signals (if signals) to Satan only, for he only was *weigh'd*, ver. 1012; or rather they show'd him what would be the consequence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The scale, in which lay the weight, that was the *sequel* of his *fighting*, by ascending show'd him that he was *light in arms*, and could not obtain victory: whereas the other scale, in which was the *sequel* of his *parting* or retreating, having descended, it was a sign that his going off quietly would be his wisest and weightiest attempt. The reader will excuse my having been so long in this note, when he considers that *Dr. Bentley* and probably many others have misunderstood *Milton's* thought about the scales, judging of it by what they read of *Jupiter's* scales in *Homer* and *Virgil*; the account of which is very different from this of *Milton*; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weigh'd one against the other, and the descent of one of the scales foreshow'd the death of him whose fate lay in that scale, *quo vergat pondere letum*: whereas in *Milton* nothing is weigh'd but what relates

Battels and realms: in these he put two weights
 The sequel each of parting and of fight;
 The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam;
 Which

relates to Satan only, and in the two scales are weigh'd the two different events of his retreating and his fighting. From what has been said it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton by *sequel* meant the consequence or *event*, as it is express'd in ver. 1001. and then there will be no occasion for Dr. Bentley's *signal*; both because it is a very improper word in this place, and because a *signal of parting and of fight*, can be nothing else than a signal when to part and when to fight; which he will not pretend to be the poet's meaning. *Pearce*. It may be proper, before we conclude, to produce the passages out of Homer and Virgil, whereof so much has been said, that the reader may have the satisfaction of comparing them with our author, Iliad. VIII. 69.

Και τότε δ' η χρυσεια πατηρ επιταυε ταλαντα
 Εν δ' επιθει δυο κηρε τανηλεγε & θανατοιο,
 Τρωων θ' ιπποδαμων, και Αχαιων χαλκοχιτωνων
 Ελκε δε μεσσα λαβων, ρεπε δ' ασιμον ημαρ Α-
 χαιων.
 Αι μεν Αχαιων κηρες επι χθονι παλυβοτερη
 Εζεσθη· Τρωων δε προς σελανον ευρυν αερεν.

The Sire of Gods his golden scales suspends,
 With equal hand: in these explor'd the fate
 Of Greece and Troy, and pois'd the mighty
 weight.

Prefs'd with its load the Grecian balance lies
 Low sunk on earth, the Trojan strikes the
 skies. *Pope*.

The same lines, mutatis mutandis, are apply'd
 to Hector and Achilles in the 22d book, and
 there are thus translated.

Jove lifts the golden balances, that show
 The fates of mortal men, and things below:
 Here each contending hero's lot he tries,
 And weighs with equal hand their destinies.
 Low sinks the scale furcharg'd with Hector's
 fate;
 Heavy with death it sinks, and Hell receives the
 weight.

The passage in Virgil is shorter, Æn. XII. 725.

Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine lances
 Sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum;
 Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere le-
 thum.

Jove sets the beam; in either scale he lays
 The champion's fate, and each exactly weighs.
 On this side life, and lucky chance ascends:
 Loaded with death, that other scale descends.
Dryden.

Every reader, who compares these passages
 with our author, must see plainly that tho'
 there is some resemblance, yet there is also
 great difference. There are *golden scales* in
 Homer as well as in Milton; but Milton in
 some measure authorizes the fiction by making
 his scales the balance in the Heavens. In Ho-
 mer and Virgil the combatants are weigh'd
 one against another; but here only Satan is
 weigh'd, in one scale the consequence of his
 retreating, and of his fighting in the other.
 And there is this farther improvement, that
 in Homer and Virgil the fates are weigh'd to
 satisfy Jupiter himself, but here it is done only
 to satisfy the contending parties, for Satan to
 read his own destiny. So that when Milton
 R r 2 imitates

Which Gabriel spying, thus bespake the Fiend. 1005

Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what folly then

To boast what arms can do? since thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubled now

To trample thee as mire: for proof look up, 1010
And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,

Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,
If thou resist. The Fiend look'd up, and knew

His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
Murm'ring, and with him fled the shades of night. 1015

imitates a fine passage, he does not imitate it fervily, but makes it as I may say an original of his own by his manner of varying and improving it.

1008. — *since thine no more*
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine,] *Thine* and *mine* refer to *strength*, ver. 1006. not to *arms* the substantive preceding. Dr. Bentley reads *strength* instead of *arms*.

1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,*] He does not make the ascending scale the sign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightness and weakness according to that of Belshazzar, Dan. V. 27. *Thou art weigh'd in the balances, and art found wanting.* So true it is, that Milton oftner imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate them most.

The end of the Fourth Book.





P. Flayman inv. del.

C. Grignion Sculp.

THE
FIFTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

T H E A R G U M E N T.

Morning approach'd, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to their day labors: Their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God to render Man inexcusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates at Adam's request who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

NOW morn her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
 Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
 When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
 Was aery light from pure digestion bred,
 And temp'rate vapors bland, which th' only sound 5
 Of

1. *Now morn her rosy steps*] This is the morning of the day after Satan's coming to the earth; and as Homer makes the morning with *rosy fingers*, ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως, Iliad. I. 477. *the rosy-finger'd morn*, so Milton gives her *rosy steps*, and VI. 3. a *rosy band*. The morn is first gray, then rosy upon the nearer approach of the sun. And she is said to *sow* the earth &c. by the same sort of metaphor as Lucretius says of the sun, II. 211.

— et lumine conserit arva.

5.—*which th' only sound &c.*] Which refers to *sleep*, and not to *vapors* the substantive immediately preceding. I mention this because it has been mistaken. It is certainly more proper to say that the *sound* of leaves and *song* of birds dispersed *sleep* than *vapors*. The expression *only sound* (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) seems the same with that in VII. 123. *Only omniscient*; in both which places *only* signifies *alone*; *the only sound*, for there was none other; and it is to be understood as meant of the *matin song of the birds*, as well as of the *sound* of

leaves and fuming rills. *Fuming rills*, for fumes or steams rise from the water in the morning according to ver. 186.

Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise
 From hill or *steaming* lake &c.

but they do not make a noise as *fuming*, but only as *rills*. *Aurora's fan*, the fanning winds among the leaves may be properly call'd the fan of the morning, and it is not unusual to refer a thing which follows two substantives to the first of the two only. *Lightly dispers'd*, Dr. Bentley says that *dispel sleep* is better than *disperse* it: but tho' to *dispel sleep* may be the more usual expression, yet to *disperse sleep* may be justify'd by very great authority, for Sophocles makes use of the very same. Soph. Trachin. 998.

— Καὶ μὴ σκεῖσθαι

τῶν ἀπὸ κρητὸς βλεφάρων τ' ὑπνον.

And the shrill matin song of birds on every bough.
 So Evander is wak'd in Virgil, Æn. VIII. 456.

Evandrum

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
 Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
 Of birds on every bough; so much the more
 His wonder was to find unwak'n'd Eve
 With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek, 10
 As through unquiet rest: he on his side
 Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
 Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,
 Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice 15
 Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,

Her

Evandrum ex humili tecto lux fuscitat alma,
 Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.
 The chearful morn salutes Evander's eyes,
 And songs of chirping birds invite to rise.

Dryden.

And Erminia likewise in Tasso by the sweet
 noise of birds, winds, and waters. Cant. 7.
 St. 5.

Non si destò fin che garrir gli augelli
 Non sentì lieti, e salutar gli albori,
 E mormorare il fiume, e gli arboscelli,
 E con l'onda scherzar l'aura, e co' fiori.

The birds awak'd her with their morning song,
 Their warbling music pierc'd her tender ear,
 The murm'ring brooks, and whistling winds
 among
 The rattling boughs and leaves, their part did
 bear. Fairfax.

16. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,*
 As when the soft western gales breathe on the
 flowers. Exceeding poetical and beautiful.

Richardson.

21. — *we lose the prime,*] The prime of
 the day; as he calls it elsewhere

— that sweet hour of prime, ver. 170.

and IX. 200.

The season prime for sweetest fents and airs.

26. *Such whisp'ring wak'd her,*] We were
 told in the foregoing book how the evil Spirit
 practiced upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order
 to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride,
 and ambition. The author, who shows a
 wonderful art throughout his whole poem, in
 preparing the reader for the several occurrences
 that arise in it, founds upon the above-men-
 tion'd

Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
 Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
 Awake; the morning shines, and the fresh field 20
 Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
 Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
 What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
 How nature paints her colors, how the bee
 Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet. 25

Such whisp'ring wak'd her, but with startled eye
 On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

O

tion'd circumstance the first part of the fifth book. Adam upon his awaking finds Eve still asleep, with an unusual discomposure in her looks. The posture in which he regards her, is described with a tenderness not to be express'd, as the whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was convey'd to a lover's ear. I cannot but take notice that Milton, in the conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally plac'd near the age of Solomon. I think there is no question but the poet in the preceding speech remember'd those two passages which are spoken on the like occasion, and fill'd with the same pleasing images of nature, Cant. II. 10, &c. *My beloved spake and*

VOL. I.

said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for lo the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise my love, my fair one, and come away.— Cant. VII. 11, 12. *Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us get up early to the vineyards, let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth.*— His preferring the garden of Eden to that,

— where the sapient king
 Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse,
 IX. 443.

shows that the poet had this delightful scene in view. *Addison.*

S f

35 — methought

O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
 My glory, my perfection, glad I see
 Thy face, and morn return'd ; for I this night 30
 (Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,
 If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
 Works of day past, or morrow's next design,
 But of offense and trouble, which my mind
 Knew never till this irksome night : methought 35
 Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
 With gentle voice, I thought it thine ; it said,
 Why sleep'st thou Eve ? now is the pleasant time,
 The

35. — methought

Close at mine ear &c.] Eve's dream is full of those *high conceits ingendring pride*, which we are told the Devil endeavor'd to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies herself awaken'd by Adam in the following beautiful lines,

Why sleep'st thou Eve ? &c.

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk thro' the whole work in such sentiments as these : but flattery and falshood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader.

Tho' the catastrophe of the poem is finely prefigured on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed, that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the ninth book. I shall only add, that tho' the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency, which are natural to a dream. *Addison.*

41. *Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song ;*] Spenser in his Epithalamion, a poem which Milton seems often to imitate, has it "*the bird's love-learned song*. We must farther observe that our author takes great liberties in his use of the genders, sometimes making *him* and *her* and *it* of the same thing or creature. We have a very remarkable instance in VI. 878.

Disburden'd

The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
 To the night-warbling bird, that now awake 40
 Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song; now reigns
 Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
 Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
 If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
 Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire? 45
 In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
 Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
 I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
 To find thee I directed then my walk;

And

Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
 Her mural breach, returning whence *it* roll'd.

The nightingale, tho' it is the cock that sings,
 he makes usually of the feminine gender as in
 IV. 602.

—— the wakeful nightingale;

She all night long *her* amorous descant sung.

See likewise III. 40. VII. 436. But here he says
his love-labor'd song, as the speech is address'd
 to Eve. And for the same reason he says

—— Heav'n wakes with all *his* eyes,

tho' commonly he uses Heaven itself in the fe-
 minine gender, as in VII. 205.

—— Heav'n open'd wide

Her ever during gates ——

and again, VII. 574.

—— He through Heaven

That open'd wide *her* blazing portals &c.

The reason of this alteration of the genders
 the judicious reader, when he examines each
 passage, will easily perceive.

44. — *Heav'n wakes with all his eyes*,] Here
 again he has his master Spenser full in view,
 B. 3. Cant. II. St. 45.

—— with how many eyes

High Heav'n beholds &c.

49. *To find thee I directed then my walk*;] So
 Ennius apud Ciceronem, De Divinat. I. 20.

—— ita sola

Post illa, germana soror, errare videbar,
 Tardaque vestigare, et quærere te, neque posse
 Corde capeffere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.

S f 2

53. Much

And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways 50
 That brought me on a sudden to the tree
 Of interdicted knowledge: fair it seem'd,
 Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
 And as I wond'ring look'd, beside it stood
 One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from Heaven 55
 By us oft seen; his dewy locks distill'd
 Ambrosia; on that tree he also gaz'd;
 And O fair plant, said he, with fruit furcharg'd,
 Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,
 Nor God, nor Man? is knowledge so despis'd? 60
 Or envy, or what reserve forbids to taste?
 Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
 Longer thy offer'd good, why else set here?
 This said, he paus'd not, but with ventrous arm
 He pluck'd, he tasted; me damp horror chill'd 65
 At such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold:
 But he thus overjoy'd, O fruit divine,

Sweet

53. *Much fairer to my fancy than by day:*] the cause of this? Our author plainly thinks
 As the sensations are often more pleasing, and it may be effected by the agency of some spi-
 the images more lively, when we are asleep ritual being upon the sensory while we are
 than when we are awake. And what can be asleep.

Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropt,
 Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit
 For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men: 70
 And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more
 Communicated, more abundant grows,
 The author not impair'd, but honor'd more?
 Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
 Partake thou also; happy though thou art, 75
 Happier thou mayst be, worthier canst not be:
 Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
 Thyself a Goddess, not to earth confin'd,
 But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes
 Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and see 80
 What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.
 So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
 Ev'n to my mouth of that same fruit held part
 Which he had pluck'd; the pleasant savory smell
 So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought, 85
 Could

56. — *his dewy locks distill'd*
Ambrosia;] So Virgil of Venus, *Æn.* I.
 403.
Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem

Spiravere. — *Hume.*
 79. *But sometimes in the air, as we, some-*
times &c.] The words *as we* are so
 plac'd between the two sentences, as equally
 to

Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds
 With him I flew, and underneath beheld
 The earth outstretch'd immense, a prospect wide
 And various: wond'ring at my flight and change
 To this high exaltation; suddenly 90
 My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
 And fell asleep; but O how glad I wak'd
 To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
 Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.

Best image of myself and dearer half, 95
 The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
 Affects me equally; nor can I like
 This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear;
 Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
 Created pure. But know, that in the soul 100
 Are many lesser faculties, that serve
 Reason as chief; among these fancy next
 Her office holds; of all external things,

Which

to relate to both, and in the first sentence the verb *be* is understood. *Pearce.*

93. — *Thus Eve her night*

Related;] Thus Eve repeated her dream.

Night for the visions and dreams frequent in it. So *Sil. Ital.* III. 216.

Promissa evolvit somni, noctemque retractat.

Hume.

94. — and

Which the five watchful senses represent,
 She forms imaginations, aery shapes, 105
 Which reason joining or disjoining, frames
 All what we' affirm or what deny, and call
 Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
 Into her private cell when nature rests.
 Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes 110
 To imitate her; but misjoining shapes,
 Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams,
 Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
 Some such resemblances methinks I find
 Of our last evening's talk, in this thy dream, 115
 But with addition strange; yet be not sad.
 Evil into the mind of God or Man
 May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave
 No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
 That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream, 120
 Waking thou never wilt consent to do.

Be

94. — and thus Adam] Adam conformable to his superior character for wisdom instructs and comforts Eve upon this occasion.

Addison.

117. Evil into the mind of God or Man] God here must signify *Angel*, as it frequently does in this poem. For *God cannot be tempted with evil*, as St. James says (I. 13.) of the Supreme Being.

137. But

Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks,
 That wont to be more chearful and serene,
 Than when fair morning first smiles on the world;
 And let us to our fresh employments rise 125
 Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers
 That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,
 Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.

So chear'd he his fair spouse, and she was chear'd,
 But silently a gentle tear let fall 130
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,
 Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
 Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
 And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended. 135

So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste.
 But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof

Soon

137. *But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof*
Soon as they forth were come &c.] Dr. Bentley proposes *arbor's roof*: I don't know why: he gives us no reason, and I can think of none. But if the Doctor has made a change, where there was no fault; he has let a very considerable fault in this passage escape without any change or observation. As the comma now stands after *roof*, the morning hymn of Adam

and Eve is represented as said by them (at one and the same time) *from under the roof*, and *in the open sight of the sun*: which is a contradiction. The sense plainly requires that the comma should be as we have plac'd it; and the construction is, *But first they lowly bow'd adoring*, ver. 144. *as soon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbor*.

Pearce.

145 — *each*

Soon as they forth were come to open sight
 Of day-spring, and the sun, who scarce up risen,
 With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean brim, 140
 Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
 Discovering in wide landskip all the east
 Of Paradise and Eden's happy plains,
 Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
 Their orisons, each morning duly paid 145
 In various stile; for neither various stile
 Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
 Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd or sung
 Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
 Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse, 150
 More tuneable than needed lute or harp
 To add more sweetness; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
 Almighty,

145. — *each morning duly paid*

In various stile;] As it is very well known that our author was no friend to set forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he ascribes extemporary effusions to our first parents; but even while he attributes strains *unmeditated* to them, he himself imitates the Psalmist.

153. *These are thy glorious works, &c.]* The morning hymn is written in imitation of one
VOL. I.

of those Psalms, where in the overflowings of gratitude and praise the Psalmist calls not only upon the Angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate creation, to join with him in extolling their common Maker. Invocations of this nature fill the mind with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthusiasm, which is so natural to devotion. But if this calling
T t upon

Almighty, thine this universal frame,
 Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then! 155
 Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens,
 To us invisible, or dimly seen
 In these thy lowest works; yet these declare
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'r divine.
 Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light, 160
 Angels; for ye behold him, and with songs
 And choral symphonies, day without night,

Circle

upon the dead parts of nature is at all times a proper kind of worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first parents, who had the creation fresh upon their minds, and had not seen the various dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many topics of praise, which might afford matter to the devotions of their posterity. I need not remark the beautiful spirit of poetry, which runs thro' this whole hymn, nor the holiness of that resolution with which it concludes. *Addison.* The author has raised our expectation by commending the *various stile*, and *holy rapture*, and *prompt eloquence* of our first parents; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully answer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a sort of paraphrase of the 148th Psalm, and (of what is a paraphrase upon that) the Cantic placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, &c.* which is the song of the three children in the Apocrypha.

155. — *thyself how wondrous then!*] Wisd. XIII. 3, 4, 5. *With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be Gods; let them know how much better the Lord of them is: for the first author of beauty hath created them. But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them, how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker of them is seen.*

160. *Speak ye who best can tell, &c.*] He is *unspeakable*, ver. 156. no creature can speak worthily of him as he is; but speak ye who are best able ye Angels, ye in Heaven; on Earth join all ye creatures, &c.

162. — *day without night,*] According to Milton there was *grateful vicissitude like day and night in Heaven*, VI. 8. and we presume that he took the notion from Scripture, Rev. VII. 15. *They are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple.* But still it was *day without night*, that is without such night—

Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in Heaven,
 On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol
 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end. 165
 Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,
 Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
 With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,
 While day arises, that sweet hour of prime. 170
 Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,

Acknow-

night as ours, for the darkness there is no more than *grateful twilight*, *Night comes not there in darker veil*. See ver. 645. of this book.

165. *Him first, him last, him midst,*] Theocrit. Idyl. XVII. 3.

— ἐνι πρῶτοις λεγέσθω,
 Καὶ πῦματ' αὖ, καὶ μεσσ' αὖ. —

And then how has Milton improv'd it by adding *and without end*! as he is celebrating God, and Theocritus only a man.

166. *Fairest of stars,*] So Homer calls it, Iliad. XXII. 318.

Εἰσαεῖσθ' αὖ, ὡς καλλίστος ἐν ὄρεσιν ἰσάται ἀστὴρ.
last in the train of night, and Ovid speaks much in the same manner, Met. II. 114.

— Diffugiunt stellæ, quarum agmina cogit
 Lucifer, et cæli statione novissimus exit.

The stars were fled, for Lucifer had chas'd
 The stars away, and fled himself at last.

Addison.

I don't know whether it is worth remarking that our author seems to have committed a mistake. The planet Venus, when she rises before the sun, is called Phosphorus, Lucifer, and the Morning-Star; when she sets after the sun is called Hesperus, Vesper, and the Evening Star; but she cannot rise before him, and set after him at the same time: and yet it may be objected that our author makes her do so; for describing the last evening, he particularly mentions *Hesperus that led the starry host*, IV. 605. and the very next morning she is address'd as *last in the train of night*. If this objection should be admitted, all we can say to it is, that a poet is not obliged to speak with the strictness and accuracy of a philosopher.

Acknowledge him thy greater, sound his praise
 In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
 And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.
 Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st, 175
 With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies,
 And ye five other wand'ring fires that move
 In mystic dance not without song, resound
 His praise, who out of darkness call'd up light.
 Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth 180
 Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run
 Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix
 And nourish all things; let your ceaseless change
 Vary

173. *In thy eternal course,*] In thy fix'd and continual course. Thus Virgil calls the sun, moon and stars *eternal fires*, Æn. II. 154. Vos, *æterni ignes*; and the sacred fire that was constantly kept burning *eternal fire*, Æn. II. 297.

Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem: and uses the adverb *æternum* in the same manner for continually. Georg. II. 400.

— glebaque versis

Æternum frangenda bidentibus.

175. *Moon that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st, &c.*] The construction is, *Thou Moon, that now meet'st and now fly'st the orient sun, together with the fix'd stars, and ye*

five other wand'ring fires &c. He had before called upon the *sun* who governs the day, and now he invokes the *moon*, and the *fix'd stars*, and the *planets* who govern the night, to praise their Maker. The moon sometimes *meets* and sometimes *flies* the sun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly course. *With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies*; they are fix'd in their orb, but their orb flies, that is moves round with the utmost rapidity; for Adam is made to speak according to appearances, and he mentions in another place, VIII. 19 and 21. their *rolling spaces incomprehensible*, and their *swift return diurnal*. And ye *five other wand'ring fires*. Dr. Bentley reads *four*, Venus and the Sun and Moon being mention'd before, and only four more remaining, Mercury and

Vary to our great Maker still new praise.

Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise

185

From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,

Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,

In honor to the world's great Author rise,

Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolor'd sky,

Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers,

190

Rising or falling still advance his praise.

His praise ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,

Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,

With every plant, in sign of worship wave.

Fountains and ye, that warble, as ye flow,

195

Melodious

and Mars and Jupiter and Saturn. And we must either suppose that Milton did not consider the morning star as the planet Venus; or he must be supposed to include the earth, to make up the *other five* besides those he had mention'd; and he calls it elsewhere VIII. 129. *The planet earth*; tho' this be not agreeable to the system, according to which he is speaking at present. *Wand'ring fires* in opposition to *fix'd stars*. *That move in mystic dance not without song*, alluding to the doctrine of the Ancients and particularly to Pythagoras his notion of the music of the spheres, by which no doubt he understood the proportion, regularity, and harmony of their motions. Shakespear speaks of it more fully in his Merchant of Venice, Act V.

— Look how the floor of Heaven
Is thick inlaid with patterns of bright gold :
There's not the smallest orb that thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an Angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-ey'd Cherubim,
Such harmony is in immortal souls !
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it.

181. — *that in quaternion run &c.*] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus, borrow'd from Orpheus. Et cum quattuor sint genera corporum, vicissitudine eorum mundi continuata natura est. Nam ex terra, aqua : ex aqua, oritur aer : ex aere, æther :

Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
 Join voices all ye living Souls; ye Birds,
 That singing up to Heaven gate ascend,
 Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.
 Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
 The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
 Witness if I be silent, morn or even,

200

To

æther: deinde retrorsum vicissim ex æthere,
 aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic
 naturis his, ex quibus omnia constant, sursum,
 deorsus, ultro, citro commeantibus, mundi
 partium conjunctio continetur. Cicero de Nat.
 Deor. II. 33.

197. — *ye living Souls;*] *Soul* is used here
 as it sometimes is in Scripture for other crea-
 tures besides Man. So Gen. I. 20. *the moving*
creature that hath life, that is *soul* in the He-
 brew, and in the margin of the Bible; and
 ver. 30. *every thing that creepeth upon the earth*,
wherein there is life, that is a *living soul*.

198. *That singing up to Heaven gate ascend,*]
 We meet with the like hyperbole in Shake-
 spear, Cymbeline, Act II.

Hark, hark! the lark at Heav'n's gate sings;
 and again in his 29th sonnet,
 Like as the lark at break of day arising
 From fullenearth sings hymns at Heaven's gate:
 and not unlike is that in Homer, Od. XII. 73.
 of a very high rock,

— στεγανον ερπον ιναυει
 Οξση κορυφη.

And with its pointed top to Heav'n ascends.

202. *Witness if I be silent,*] Dr. Bentley
 thinks that Milton had forgot that both Adam
 and Eve shar'd in this hymn, and therefore he
 reads *if we be silent*, and in the next verse but
 one *by our song*: But Milton rather imitates
 here the ancient chorus, where sometimes the
 plural, and sometimes the singular number is
 used. The same is practis'd by our poet in
 the speeches of the chorus in Sampson Ago-
 nistes, where the reader will see in every page
 almost that the number is thus varied. Dr.
 Bentley observes, that the whole hymn natu-
 rally divides itself into parts interlocutory, and
 that he has presumed to put it so, tho' not
 warranted by any edition. But this is not
 Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was
 set to music some years ago, and in that com-
 position the several parts of it were assign'd
 distinctly to Adam and Eve. I think that such
 interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an
 heroic poem: but if the author should be sup-
 posed to have design'd them, I should choose
 to divide this hymn very different from the
 Doctor's division. [The Doctor assigns the
 first seven lines to Adam, those of the Angels
 to Eve, those of the Morning Star to Adam,
 those of the Sun to Eve, those of the Moon

to

To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade
 Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.
 Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still
 To give us only good; and if the night
 Have gather'd ought of evil or conceal'd,
 Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.

205

So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts

Firm

to Adam, of the Air and Elements to Eve, of the Mists and Exhalations to Adam, of the Winds and Pines to Eve, of the Fountains and Rills to Adam, of the Creatures and Birds to Eve, of the Fishes and Beasts to Adam, and the four last lines to Eve. But on the contrary Dr. Pearce says] The first seven and the four last verses of this hymn I would suppose spoken by Adam and Eve together: and as to the other verses, I would have Adam speak all that the Doctor assigns to Eve, and Eve all that is now assign'd to Adam. In this method the mention of the fair Morning Star, the Moon, and Fountains and Rills will come to Eve's share, and they are circumstances which seem fitter for her to mention than her husband. Pearce.

205. — be bounteous still

To give us only good;] He had his thought, as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in Plato,

Ζευ βασιλευ, τα μεν εδδα και ευχομενοις και ανευχοις

Αμμι διδδ' τα δε λυγρα και ευχομενων απερυκε.

O Jupiter give us good things, whether we

pray for them or not, and remove from us evil things, even tho' we pray for them. And we learn from the first book of Xenophon's memoirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the Gods only to give good things, as they knew best what things were so. ευχετο δε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τ' ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς καλλίστα εἰδότες ὅποια ἀγαθὰ εἰσι. And to the same purpose there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, *We humbly beseech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those things which be profitable for us.*

209. So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm.

On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.]

These verses are thus pointed in the best, that is in Milton's own editions: but the latter sentence begins very abruptly, *On to their morning's work &c.* Dr. Bentley therefore continuing the sentence reads thus,

So pray'd they innocent; and to their thoughts

Firm peace recover'ring soon and wonted calm,

On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.

Dr. Pearce thinks the sentence sufficiently continued

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm. 210
 On to their morning's rural work they haste
 Among sweet dewes and flow'rs; where any row
 Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far
 Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
 Fruitless embraces: or they led the vine 215
 To wed her elm; she spous'd about him twines
 Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
 Her dow'r th' adopted clusters, to adorn
 His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld
 With pity Heav'n's high king, and to him call'd 220
 Raphael,

tinued in the common reading, if *recover'd* be a particle of the ablative case; and conceives this to be the construction, *Peace and calm being recover'd to their thoughts, they haste &c.* and accordingly points it thus,

— and, to their thoughts
 Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm,
 On to their morning's rural work they haste.
 But perhaps the abruptness of the line
 On to their morning's rural work they haste
 was design'd the better to express the haste they
 were in as they were later to day than usual:
 Or perhaps with an easy alteration it may be
 read thus,

Then to their morning's rural work they haste.

214. *Their pamper'd boughs,*] The propriety
 of this expression will best be seen by what Ju-

nius says of the etymology of the word *pamper*. The French word *pampre* of the Latin *pampinus* is a vine-branch full of leaves: and *pamprer*, he says, is a vineyard overgrown with superfluous leaves and fruitless branches. *Gallis pampre est pampinus: unde iis pamprer dicitur vinea supervacuo pampinorum germine exuberans, ac nimia crescendi luxuria quodammodo sylvescens.*

216. *To wed her elm;*] Hor. Epod. II. 9.

— Aut adulta vitium propagine
 Altas maritat populos:
 Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,
 Feliciores inferit.

Adam and Eve are very well employ'd in
*checking fruitless embraces, and leading the vine
 to wed her elm;* that is very fitly made the em-
 ployment of a married couple, which is urged
 in

Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
 To travel with Tobias, and secur'd
 His marriage with the sev'ntimes-wedded maid.

Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth
 Satan from Hell scap'd through the darksome gulf ²²⁵
 Hath rais'd in Paradise, and how disturb'd
 This night the human pair, how he designs
 In them at once to ruin all mankind.

Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
 Converse with Adam, in what bow'r or shade ²³⁰
 Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,

To

in Ovid as an argument to marriage, Met.
 XIV. 661.

Ulmus erat contra spatiosa tumentibus uvis,
 Quam socia postquam pariter cum vite pro-
 bavit;

At si stare, ait, cœlebs sine palmite truncus,
 Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet.
 Hæc quoque quæ juncta vitis requiescit in ulmo,
 Si non nupta foret, terræ acclinata jaceret.

An elm was near, to whose embraces led,
 The curling vine her swelling clusters spread:
 He view'd their twining branches with delight,
 And prais'd the beauty of the pleasing sight.
 Yet this tall elm, but for his vine (he said)
 Had stood neglected, and a barren shade;
 And this fair vine, but that her arms surround
 Her marry'd elm, had crept along the ground.

Pope.

And Virgil likewise has the metaphor of the
 vine embracing the elm, Georg. II. 367.

Inde ubi jam validis *amplexæ* stirpibus ulmos
 Exierint:

and not only the poets, but Columella and the
 writers of rustic affairs frequently use the
 phrases of *nupta vitis*, and *marita ulmus*.

222. *To travel with Tobias,*] In the book of
 Tobit the Angel Raphael travels with Tobias
 into Media and back again, and instructs him
 how to marry Sara the daughter of Raguel,
 and how to drive away the wicked Spirit who
 had destroy'd her former seven husbands before
 they had knowledge of her. So *sociable a Spi-
 rit* as this is very properly sent to converse
 with Adam upon this occasion.

To respit his day-labor with repast,
 Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
 As may advise him of his happy state,
 Happiness in his pow'r left free to will, 235
 Left to his own free will, his will though free,
 Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
 He swerve not too secure: tell him withal
 His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
 Late fall'n himself from Heav'n, is plotting now 240
 The fall of others from like state of bliss;
 By violence? no, for that shall be withstood;
 But by deceit and lies; this let him know,

Left

235. *Happiness in his pow'r left free to will,*] That is in the power of him left free to will.

247. — *nor delay'd the winged Saint &c.*] Raphael's departure from before the throne, and his flight thro' the quires of Angels, is finely imaged. As Milton every where fills his poem with circumstances that are marvelous and astonishing, he describes the gate of Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it open'd of itself upon the approach of the Angel who was to pass through it. The poet here seems to have regarded two or three passages in the 18th Iliad, as that in particular, where speaking of Vulcan, Homer says, that he had made twenty tripodes running on golden wheels; which upon occasion might

go of themselves to the assembly of the Gods, and, when there was no more use for them, return again after the same manner. Scaliger has rallied Homer very severely upon this point, as M. Dacier has endeavor'd to defend it. I will not pretend to determin, whether in this particular of Homer, the marvelous does not lose sight of the probable. As the miraculous workmanship of Milton's gates is not so extraordinary as this of the tripodes, so I am persuaded he would not have mention'd it, had not he been supported in it by a passage in the Scripture, which speaks of wheels in Heaven that had life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompany'd.

There

Left wilfully transgressing he pretend
Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd.

245

So spake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All justice: nor delay'd the winged Saint
After his charge receiv'd; but from among
Thousand celestial Ardors, where he stood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing light 250
Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work

255

Divine

There is no question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's vision. I question not but Bossu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in Homer, by something parallel in holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels. *Addison.*

249. *Thousand celestial Ardors,*] *Ardor* in Latin implies fervency, exceeding love, eager desire, fiery nature; all included in the idea of an Angel. *Richardson.*

254 — *the gate self-open'd wide*] This cir-

cumstance is not borrow'd, as Mr. Addison conceiv'd, from Vulcan's tripodes in Homer, but from Homer's making the gates of Heaven open of their own accord to the Deities who passed thro' them, *Iliad*. V. 749.

Αὐτοματὰ δὲ πυλᾶι μύκον ἔρanns, ας ἔχον Ωραι.
Heav'n gates spontaneous open to the Pow'rs,
Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged
Hours. Pope.

Where Mr. Pope observes that the expression of *the gates of Heaven* is in the eastern manner, where they said the *gates* of Heaven or Earth for the entrance or extremities of Heaven or Earth; a phrase usual in the Scriptures, as is observed by Dacier.

U u 2

257. *From*

Divine the sovran Architect had fram'd.
 From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
 Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
 Not unconform to other shining globes,
 Earth and the gard'n of God, with cedars crown'd 260
 Above all hills. As when by night the glass
 Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
 Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:
 Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades
 Delos or Samos first appearing, kens 265

A

257. *From hence, no cloud, &c.*] The comma after *interpos'd*, shows that it is here a participle in the ablative case put absolutely; and the construction is, *From hence, no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees, however small it is, appearing very small at that distance, the earth not unlike to other shining globes, and in it Paradise, the garden of God, that was crown'd with cedars which were higher than the highest hills.*

261. — *As when by night the glass &c.*] The Angel from Heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an astronomer observing the moon thro' a telescope, or to a pilot at sea discovering an island at a distance. *As when by night the glass of Galileo*, the telescope first used in celestial observations by Galileo a native of Florence, *less assur'd* than the Angel, as was likewise the pilot, *observes*, a poetical expression, the instrument put for the person who makes use of it, *imagin'd lands and regions*

in the moon, it is not only imagin'd that there are lands and regions in the moon, but astronomers give names to them: *Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades*, a parcel of islands in the Archipelago, *Delos or Samos first appearing*, two of the largest of these islands and therefore first appearing, *kens a cloudy spot*, for islands seem to be such at their first appearance. But the Angel sees with greater clearness and certainty than these; the glass is *less assur'd*, and the pilot *kens* only *a cloudy spot*, when the Angel sees not the whole globe only, but distinctly the mount of Paradise.

266. — *Down thither prone in flight &c.*] Virg. Æn. IV. 253.

— hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas
 Misit, avi similis.

272. *A Phoenix,*] Dr. Bentley objects to Raphael's taking *the shape of a Phoenix*, and the

A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
 He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
 Sails between worlds and worlds, with steddý wing
 Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
 Winnows the buxom air; till within soar 270
 Of towring eagles, to' all the fowls he seems
 A Phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,
 When to inshrine his reliques in the sun's
 Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
 At once on th' eastern cliff of Paradise 275

He

the objection would be very just if Milton had said any such thing: but he only says that *to all the fowls he seems a Phœnix*; he was not really a Phœnix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the Ancients, but generally looked upon by the Moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as single, or the only one of its kind, and therefore it is called here *that sole bird*, as it had been before by Tasso *unico augello*. They describe it as of a most beautiful plumage. They hold that it lives five or six hundred years; that when thus advanc'd in age, it builds itself a funeral pile of wood and aromatic gums, which being kindled by the sun it is there consumed by the fire, and another Phœnix arises out of the ashes, ancestor and successor to himself, who taking up the reliques of his funeral pile flies with them to Egyptian Thebes to inshrine them there in the temple of the sun, the other birds attending and gazing upon him in

his flight. *Egyptian Thebes* to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. See Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 10. c. 2. Ovid. Met. XV. and Claudian de Phœnice. Armida in Tasso is in like manner compared to a Phœnix, Cant. 17. St. 35.

Come all' hor, che'l rinato unico augello, &c.

As when the new-born Phœnix doth begin
 To fly to Ethiopeward, at the fair bent
 Of her rich wings, strange plumes, and feathers
 thin,

Her crowns and chains, with native gold besprent,
 The world amazed stands; and with her fly
 An host of wond'ring birds that sing and cry:
 So past Armida, look'd on, gaz'd on so.

275. — *on th' eastern cliff*] For there was the only gate of Paradise, IV. 178. The good Angel enters by the gate, and not like Satan.

276. — *and*

He lights, and to his proper shape returns
 A Seraph wing'd; six wings he wore, to shade
 His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
 With regal ornament; the middle pair 280
 Girt like a starry zone his waste, and round
 Skirted

276. — *and to his proper shape returns*] The word *shape* here (I suppose) occasion'd Dr. Bentley in his note on the former passage to say that Milton makes Raphael take *the shape of a Phoenix*. But by *returning to his proper shape* Milton means only that he stood on his feet, and gather'd up his six wings into their proper place and situation. *Pearce.* Or as another ingenious person expresses it, He seem'd again what he really was, a Seraph wing'd; whereas in his flight he appear'd what he was not, a Phoenix.

277. — *six wings he wore, &c.*] The Seraphim seen by Isaiah, VI. 2. had the same number of wings, *Above it stood the Seraphims, each one had six wings*: but there the wings are disposed differently.

284. — *with feather'd mail, Sky-tinctur'd grain.*] Feathers lie one short of another resembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are compos'd. Sky-color'd, dy'd in grain, to express beauty and durableness. *Richardson.*

285. — *Like Maia's son he stood, &c.*] Raphael's descent to the earth, with the figure of his person, is represented in very lively colors. Several of the French, Italian and English poets have given a loose to their imaginations in the description of Angels: But I do not re-

member to have met with any so finely drawn, and so conformable to the notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in Milton. After having set him forth in all his heavenly plumage, and represented him as alighting upon the earth, the poet concludes his description with a circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagin'd with the greatest strength of fancy.

— Like Maia's son he stood,
 And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance
 fill'd
 The circuit wide. *Addison.*

The comparing of the Angel to *Maia's son*, to Mercury, shows evidently that the poet had particularly in view those sublime passages of Homer and Virgil, which describe the flight and descent of Mercury to the earth. That of Homer is in the Iliad. XXIV. 339.

Ως εφ'απ'· εδ' απιθησε διακ'λορ' Αργειφον'ης·
 Αυτικ' επειθ' υπο ποσσιν εδησατο καλα πεδιλα,
 Αμβροσια, χρυσεια, τα μιν φερων ημεν εφ' υγρην,
 Ηδ' επ' απειρονα γαιαν, αμα πνοιης ανεμοιο·
 Ειλετο δη ραβδον, τη τ' ανδ'ρων ομματα θελγει,
 Ων εβελει, τες δ' αυτε και υπνωον'τας εχειρει.

The

Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
 And colors dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
 Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
 Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood, ²⁸⁵
 And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
 The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the bands
 Of

The God obeys, his golden pinions binds,
 And mounts incumbent on the wings of winds,
 That high thro' fields of air his flight sustain,
 O'er the wide earth, and o'er the boundless
 main:

Then grasps the wand that causes sleep to fly,
 Or in soft slumbers seals the wakeful eye.

Pope.

Virgil has translated it almost literally, but
 with some addition, *Æn.* IV. 238.

Dixerat: ille patris magni parere parabat
 Imperio, et primum pedibus talaria nequit.
 Aurea: quæ sublimem alis, sive æquora supra,
 Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
 Tum virgam capit: hæc animas ille evocat Orco
 Pallentes, alias sub tristia Tartara mittit;
 Dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.

Hermes obeys; with golden pinions binds
 His flying feet, and mounts the western winds:
 And whether o'er the seas or earth he flies,
 With rapid force, they bear him down the skies.
 But first he grasps within his awful hand,
 The mark of sov'reign pow'r, his magic wand:
 With this, he draws the ghosts from hollow
 graves,
 With this, he drives them down the Stygian
 waves;

With this, he seals in sleep the wakeful sight;
 And eyes, tho' clos'd in death, restores to light.
 Dryden.

If it is hard to determin (as Mr. Pope says)
 which is more excellent, the copy or the ori-
 ginal, yet I believe every reader will easily de-
 termin that Milton's description is better than
 both. The reader may likewise, if he pleases,
 compare this descent of Raphael with that of
 Gabriel in Tasso, Cant. I. St. 13, 14, 15. But
 (as Dr. Pearce observes) it is the graceful
 posture in standing after alighting that is parti-
 cularly compar'd to Mercury;

Hic paribus primum nitens Cyllenius alis
 Constitit, *Æn.* IV. 253.

It is probable that the idea was first taken
 from the graceful attitudes of the antique sta-
 tues of Mercury: but our author might have
 it more immediately from Shakespear's Hamlet,
 Act. III.

A station, like the herald Mercury
 New-lighted on a Heaven-kissing hill:

as the image of the Angel's shaking his fra-
 grant plumes is borrow'd particularly from
 Tasso,

On Lebanon at first his foot he set,
 And shook his wings with roary May-dews wet.

288. — and

Of Angels under watch ; and to his state,
 And to his message high in honor rise ;
 For on some message high they guess'd him bound. 290
 Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come
 Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
 And flow'ring odors, cassia, nard, and balm ;
 A wilderness of sweets ; for Nature here
 Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will 295
 Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
 Wild above rule or art ; enormous bliss.
 Him through the spicy forest onward come
 Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat
 Of his cool bow'r, while now the mounted sun 300
 Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm

Earth's

288. — *and to his state,*
And to his message high in honor rise ;] With
 the same respect as the Muses pay to Gallus in
 Virgil, Ecl. VI. 66.

Utque viro Phœbi chorus affurrexerit omnis.

296. — *pouring forth more sweet,*
Wild above rule or art ; enormous bliss.] So
 the two first editions point this passage : Dr.
 Bentley puts no stop after *art* ; for want of
 which he has fallen into a considerable mistake :
 instead of *pouring forth more sweet*, he would
 have us read *pouring forth profuse*. He says,

more sweet than what ? nothing : for the com-
 parison is dropt. But the sense is, pouring
 forth what was the more sweet for being wild
 and above rule or art. *Pearce.*

Or should there not be a comma only after
art ? and is not *enormous bliss* the accusative
 case after *pouring forth* ? which bliss was the
more sweet, as it was *wild above rule or art*.

298. *Him through the spicy forest]* Raphael's
 reception by the guardian Angels ; his passing
 thro' the wilderness of sweets ; his distant ap-
 pearance to Adam, have all the graces that
 poetry is capable of bestowing. *Addison.*

299. — *as*

Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs:
 And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
 For dinner savory fruits, of taste to please
 True appetite, and not disrelish thirst 305
 Of nect'rous draughts between, from milky stream,
 Berry or grape: to whom thus Adam call'd.

Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
 Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape
 Comes this way moving; seems another morn 310
 Ris'n on mid-noon; some great behest from Heaven
 To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
 This day to be our guest. But go with speed,
 And what thy stores contain, bring forth, and pour
 Abundance, fit to honor and receive 315

Our

299. — *as in the door he sat*] So Abraham, Gen. XVIII. 1. *sat in the tent-door in the heat of the day* when he was visited by three Angels. From that passage our poet form'd this incident. Bentley.

307. *Berry or grape:*] It is the opinion of some that Noah was the first who made wine, because it is said in Scripture, Gen. IX. 20. *And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard:* but it cannot be inferr'd from hence that he was the *first* vine-dresser any more than that he was the *first* husbandman; and our author, we see, gives an earlier

VOL. I.

date to the making of wine, and a little afterwards more expressly,

—— for drink the grape
 She crushes, inoffensive must.

Must or new wine, so we spell it after the Latin *mustum*, and not *moust* as it is in our author's own editions.

310. — *seems another morn*] The nominative case is here understood, the *glorious shape* before mention'd.

X x

326. — and

Our heav'nly stranger: well we may afford
 Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
 From large bestow'd, where Nature multiplies
 Her fertil growth, and by disburd'ning grows
 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare. 320

To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mold,
 Of God inspir'd, small store will serve, where store,
 All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
 Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
 To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes: 325
 But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,
 Each plant and juciest gourd, will pluck such choice
 To entertain our Angel guest, as he
 Beholding shall confess, that here on Earth

God

326. — *and from each bough and brake,
 Each plant and juciest gourd,*] Dr. Bentley
 would read *branch* instead of *brake*, thinking
 that provisions are not to be gather'd from
 brakes: but *bough*, *brake*, *plant*, and *gourd*,
 express here all the several kinds of things
 which produce fruits. The *bough* belongs to
 fruit-trees; the *plant* is such as that which pro-
 duces strawberries &c; the *gourd* includes all
 kinds that lie on the earth; and the *brake* is
 the species between trees and plants; of this
 sort are (I think) the bushes which yield cur-
 rants, black-berries, goose-berries, raspberries

&c. But if we read with the Doctor *branch*, it
 will be a superfluous word, because of *bough*
 which preceded it. *Pearce.*

331. *So saying, with dispatchful looks &c.*] The author gives us here a particular descrip-
 tion of Eve in her domestic employments.
 Though in this, and other parts of the same
 book, the subject is only the housewifery of our
 first parent, it is set off with so many pleasing
 images and strong expressions, as make it
 none of the least agreeable parts in this divine
 work. *Addison.*

333. *What choice to choose*] This sort of
 jingle

God hath dispens'd his bounties as in Heaven. 330

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
 She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
 What choice to choose for delicacy best,
 What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
 Tastes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring 335
 Taste after taste upheld with kindest change;
 Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
 Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields
 In India East or West, or middle shore
 In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where 340
 Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat
 Rough or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell,
 She gathers, tribute large, and on the board

Heaps

jingle is very usual in Milton, as to *move motion*, VIII. 130. *thoughts mis-thought*, IX. 289. *finn'd sin*, XI. 427. and is not unusual in the best classic authors, as in Terence, Phorm. V. V. 8.

Nam hunc scio mea solide solum gavisurum
 gaudia :

and in Virgil, *Æn.* XII. 680.

— hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem :

and many more instances might be given.

338. *Whatever Earth all-bearing mother*] So

the Greeks call her Παμμνητορ γη, and the Latins *Omniparens* — terræ omniparentis alumnus, Virg. *Æn.* VI. 595. She gathered all manner of fruits which the earth at that time afforded, or has since produced in the noblest and best cultivated gardens.

339. — *or middle shore &c.*] Or on the borders of the Mediterranean; *in Pontus*, part of Asia, *or the Punic coast*, part of Africa, *or where Alcinous reign'd*, in a Grecian island in the Ionian sea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently call'd Phæacia, then Coreyra, now Corfu, under the dominion of the Venetians. The soil

Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the grape
 She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths 345
 From many a berry, and from sweet kernels press'd
 She tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold
 Wants her fit vessels pure, then strows the ground
 With rose and odors from the shrub unfum'd.

Mean while our primitive great fire, to meet 350
 His God-like guest, walks forth, without more train
 Accompanied than with his own complete
 Perfections; in himself was all his state,
 More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
 On princes, when their rich retinue long 355
 Of horses led, and grooms besmear'd with gold,
 Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.

Nearer

is fruitful in oil, wine, and most excellent
 fruits, and its owner is made famous for his
 gardens celebrated by Homer. *Hume.*

345. — *and meaths*] Sweet drinks like
 meads. A word used by Chaucer, and perhaps
 deriv'd from μέθυ.

348. — *her fit vessels pure,*] We may sup-
 pose the shells of nuts and rinds of fruits, as
 was hinted before, IV. 335.

— and in the rind
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream.

349. — *from the shrub unfum'd.*] That is,

not burnt and exhaling smoke as in fumiga-
 tions, but with its natural sent. *Heylin.*

351. — *without more train*

Accompanied than with his own &c.] *Without*
more than with is a solecism. It should be
without more train than his own complete perfec-
tions, with being expung'd. But he gave it
with no more train than with &c. *Bentley.*

356. — *besmear'd with gold,*] Horace's
aurum vestibus illitum, Od. IV. IX. 14. comes
 nearest to it. *Hume.* Virgil has used
 a like expression, *Æn. X. 314.*

Per tunicam squallentem auro. *Richardson.*

357. *Dazles*

Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,
 Yet with submissive approach and reverence meek,
 As to' a superior nature, bowing low, 360
 Thus said. Native of Heav'n, for other place
 None can than Heav'n such glorious shape contain;
 Since by descending from the thrones above,
 Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while
 To want, and honor these, vouchsafe with us 365
 Two' only, who yet by sovran gift possess
 This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
 To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
 To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
 Be over, and the sun more cool decline. 370

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

Adam,

357. *Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.*
 Virgil Georg. II. 463.

Nec varios *inbiant* pulchra testudine postes.
Jortin.

Æn. VII. 812.

Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa juvenus
 Turbaque miratur matrum, et prospectat
 euntem,
 Attonitis *inbians* animis.

368. — *what the garden choicest bears*
To sit and taste,] That is, to taste as he is
 sitting: See my note on II. 917. *Pearce.*

371. — *th' angelic Virtue*] The Angel:
 thus Homer uses Πρωτοιο βιν *the strength of*
Priam for Priam himself, Iliad. III. 105. and
 Εκτορῶ μιν for Hector, Iliad. XIV. 418.

Αυταρ επει τογ' ακρα' ιερων μιν Αλκινοδιου.

Odyss. VII. 167.

After the sacred strength of Alcinous heard that.

Imitated twice by the cautious Virgil, *Odora ca-*
num vis for dogs, Æn. IV. 132. *Vimque Deum*
infernam the infernal Deities, Æn. XII. 149.

Hume.

378. — *Pos*

Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
 Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
 As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heaven
 To visit thee; lead on then where thy bower 375
 O'er shades; for these mid-hours, till evening rise,
 I have at will. So to the sylvan lodge
 They came, that like Pomona's arbor smil'd
 With flow'rets deck'd and fragrant smells; but Eve
 Undeck'd save with herself, more lovely fair 380
 Than Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess feign'd
 Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,
 Stood to' entertain her guest from Heav'n; no veil
 She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
 Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel Hail 385
 Bestow'd,

378. — *Pomona's arbor*] The Goddess of fruit-trees might well be supposed to have a delightful arbor, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid. Met. XIV. 523. &c.

380. *Undeck'd save with herself*,] This is simplex munditiis indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contrast to Ovid's description of the fine lady full dress'd,

— pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

It calls to mind that memorable saying, Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est.

Dress'd, she is beautiful; undress'd, she is beauty itself. With the same elegance of expression, describing Adam, he has said,

— in himself was all his state.

382. *Of three that in mount Ida naked strove*,] The judgment of Paris is very well known in preferring Venus to Juno and Minerva, that is beauty to power and wisdom: a different choice from that of young Solomon, who desir'd wisdom rather than riches and honor.

384. — *virtue proof*;] *Proof* is used in the old

Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.

Hail Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
Than with these various fruits the trees of God 390
Have heap'd this table. Rais'd of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold; 395
No fear lest dinner cool; when thus began
Our author. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,

To

old poets for armour, Sakespear, Rom. & Jul.
Act. I.

And in strong *proof* of chastity well arm'd,
From love's weak childish bow she lives un-
harm'd.

385. — On whom the Angel Hail &c.]
The natural majesty of Adam, and at the same
time his submissive behaviour to the superior
being, who had vouchsafed to be his guest;
the solemn *Hail*, which the Angel bestows
upon the mother of mankind, with the figure
of Eve ministring at the table, are circum-
stances which deserve to be admired. Addison.

387. — to Mary, second Eve.] See Luke
I. 28. She is call'd *second Eve*, as Christ is
sometimes called *second Adam*.

394. *All autumn pil'd,*] The table had mossy
seats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it;
that is the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg.
II. 5.

— pampineo gravidus autumnno
Floret ager.

399. — *perfect*] Milton writes it *perfet* af-
ter the French *parfait*; our usual way of spel-
ling it is after the Latin *perfectus*; and very
rightly,

To us for food and for delight hath caus'd 400
 The earth to yield; unsavory food perhaps
 To spiritual natures; only this I know,
 That one celestial Father gives to all.

To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives
 (Whose praise be ever sung) to Man in part 405
 Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found
 No' ingrateful food: and food alike those pure
 Intelligential substances require,
 As doth your rational; and both contain
 Within them every lower faculty 410
 Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
 Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
 And

rightly, especially as we make use likewise of the word *perfection*. And in the general it is better surely to derive our language from the original Latin, than to make it only the copy of a copy.

407. *No' ingrateful food:*] There being mention made in Scripture of *Angels food*, Psal. LXXVIII. 25. that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon, and advance these notions of the Angels eating.

415. — *of elements &c.*] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with him in thinking them the editor's, tho' we entirely agree with him in

wishing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philosophy he had put into the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly a great mistake to attribute the *spots* in the moon (which are owing to the inequalities of her surface, and to the different nature of her constituent parts, land and water) to attribute them, I say, to *vapors not yet turn'd into her substance*. It is certainly very *unphilosophical* to say that the sun *sup's with the ocean*, but it is not *unpoetical*. And whatever other faults are found in these lines, they are not so properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of those systems of philosophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after

And corporeal to incorporeal turn.

For know, whatever was created, needs

To be sustain'd and fed; of elements

415

The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,

Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires

Ethereal, and as lowest first the moon;

Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd

Vapors not yet into her substance turn'd.

420

Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale

From her moist continent to higher orbs.

The sun, that light imparts to all, receives

From all his alimential recompense

In humid exhalations, and at even

425

Sups

after the late discoveries and improvements in science, he would have written in another manner. It is allow'd by all philosophers, that the sun and fixed stars receive their supplies of nourishment; but in what manner they are fed and supply'd is a great question: and surely a greater latitude and liberty may be indulged to a poet in speaking of these things, than to a philosopher. The same kind of thought runs through an Ode of Anacreon, Ode 19.

Η γη μελαινα πινει,
Πινει δε δενδρε' αυτην
Πινει θαλασσα δ' ωρεας,

VOL. I.

Ο δ' ηλιος θαλασσαν,
Τον δ' ηλιον σεληνη.

And we may suppose the poet alluded to this, and more particularly to that passage in Pliny, where the same account is given of the spots in the moon. *Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno pasci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam maculosa cernatur, scilicet nondum suppetente ad hauriendum ultra justa vi: maculas enim non aliud esse quam terræ raptas cum humore fordes.* Lib. 2. cap. 9.

421. *Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale]*
A Latinism. So Virg. Georg. I. 83.

Nec nulla interea est inarata gratia terræ.

Y y

426. — *Though*

Sups with the ocean. Though in Heav'n the trees
 Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
 Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
 We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground
 Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here 430
 Varied his bounty so with new delights,
 As may compare with Heaven; and to taste
 Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,
 And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
 The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss 435
 Of Theologians; but with keen dispatch
 Of

426. — *Though in Heav'n the trees, &c.]* In mentioning *trees of life* and *vines* in Heaven he is justify'd by Scripture. See Rev. XXII. 2. Mat. XXVI. 29. As in speaking afterwards of *mellifluous dews* and *pearly grain* he manifestly alludes to *manna*, which is called *the bread of Heaven*. Psal. CV. 40. *And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar-frost on the ground.* Exod. XVI. 14. *and it was like coriander-seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.* ver. 31.

435. — *the common gloss*

Of Theologians;] The usual comment and exposition of Divines. For several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says

in the book of Tobit, XII. 19. *All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision.* But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, *with keen dispatch of real hunger* as he says, and this opinion is confirm'd by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time, and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See Gen. XVIII. and XIX. There it is said plainly that meat was set before them, *and they did eat*; and there is no reason for not understanding this, as well as the rest of the relation, literally. *Of Theologians;* this same word he uses in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. Vol. I. Edit. 1738.

438. — *what redounds, transpires &c.]*

This artfully avoids the indecent idea, which would else have been apt to have arisen on the Angels

Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
 To transubstantiate: what redounds, transpires
 Through Spi'rits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
 Of sooty coal th' empiric alchemist 440
 Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
 Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold
 As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
 Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups
 With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence 445
 Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
 Then had the sons of God excuse to' have been
 Enamour'd

Angels feeding, and withal gives a delicacy to these Spirits, which finely distinguishes them from us in one of the most humbling circumstances relating to our bodies.

Richardson.

439. — nor wonder; if by fire &c.] Nor is it a wonder, that the Angels have *concoctive heat* in their stomachs sufficient to *transubstantiate*, to turn their food and nourishment into their own substance, to *assimilate* as it was said before, *and turn corporeal to incorporeal*; if by fire the alchemist can turn or thinks to turn all metals to gold. *The empiric alchemist*, is one who makes bold trials and experiments (*εμπειρικος* in Greek from *πειρα* a trial or experiment) without much skill and knowledge in the art, like a quack in physick. And they must be strange *empirics* indeed, who can hope to find out the philosopher's stone, and turn

metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold. But it is not strange that our author so frequently alludes to alchemy (as he does in II. 517. III. 609. as well as here) when Johnson has written a whole comedy upon it.

445. *With pleasant liquors crown'd*:] To crown their cups was a phrase among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not so as to run over. Thus it is used by Homer, *Iliad*. I. 470.

Κεποι μὲν κρηττερας επεσεψαντο ποτοιο.

and by Virgil, *Georg.* II. 528.

— et focii cratera coronant.

447. *Then had the sons of God excuse &c.*] The doubling of the *then* adds great force and emphasis; *if ever, then, then had the sons of God excuse &c.* and this is said in allusion to that

Enamour'd at that fight; but in those hearts
 Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy
 Was understood, the injur'd lover's Hell. 450

Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
 Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
 In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass
 Giv'n him by this great conference to know
 Of things above his world, and of their being 455
 Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he saw
 Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms
 Divine effulgence, whose high pow'r so far
 Exceeded human, and his wary speech
 Thus to th' empyreal minister he fram'd. 460
 In-

that text, Gen. VI. 2. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose*, as if the sons of God there signified Angels. See note on III. 463.

451. *Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,*
Not burden'd nature, —]

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐσθίουσ ἐξ ἔρον ἐντο.
 Homer. Iliad. I. 469.

Postquam exempta fames epulis, mensæque remotæ.
 Virg. Æn. I. 216.

Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi.
 Æn. VIII. 184.

Our author says the same thing, but at the same time insinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to satisfy but not to burden nature; and this sort of temperance he not only recommends as in the beginning of this book and XI. 530. &c, but remarkably practis'd himself.

455. — *above his world,*] This is the reading in Milton's own editions, and not *above this world* as Mr. Fenton and Dr. Bentley have caus'd it to be printed.

456. — *whose excellence &c.*] *Excellence* is a general word; and he branches the *excellence* of Angels into two particulars, their *radiant forms*

Inhabitant with God, now know I well
 Thy favor, in this honor done to Man,
 Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd
 To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
 Food not of Angels, yet accepted so, 465
 As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
 At Heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?

To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.
 O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
 All things proceed, and up to him return, 470
 If not deprav'd from good, created all
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Indued with various forms, various degrees
 Of

forms (which were the effulgence of the Deity) and their *high power*. Pearce.

467. — *yet what compare?*] *His speech* was wary; and he was afraid to ask the Angel directly of the different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his desire to know by questioning whether there was any comparison between them.

468. *To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.*] Raphael's behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a sociable Spirit, with which the author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received instructions to converse with Adam, as one friend converses with another, and to

warn him of the enemy who was contriving his destruction: accordingly he is represented as sitting down at table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradise. The occasion naturally leads him to his discourse on the food of Angels. After having thus enter'd into conversation with Man upon more indifferent subjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes a natural transition to the history of that fallen Angel, who was employ'd in the circumvention of our first parents. Addison.

471. — *created all*

Such to perfection, one first matter all, &c.] That is, created all good, good to perfection, not absolutely so, but perfect in their different kinds

Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure, 475
 As nearer to him plac'd or nearer tending
 Each in their several active spheres assign'd,
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aery, last the bright consummate flower 481
 Spirits odorous breathes: flow'rs and their fruit,
 Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,
 To vital spi'rits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual; give both life and sense, 485
 Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive,

kinds and degrees; and all consisting of *one first matter*, which first matter is *indued*, (indutus) clothed upon, *with various forms*, &c.

478. *Till body up to spirit work*, &c.] Our author should have considered things better, for by attributing his own false notions in philosophy to an Arch-Angel he has really lessen'd the character, which he intended to raise. He is as much mistaken here in his metaphysics, as he was before in his physics. This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the *bounds propor-*

tion'd to each kind. I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in 1 Cor. XV. and perhaps borrow'd it from some of his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his philosophy, so was too much of a systematist in his divinity.

482. *Spirits odorous*] We must take notice in reading this verse, that *Spirits* is here a word of *two* syllables, tho' it is often contracted into *one* or pronounc'd as two short

Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same. 490
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance: time may come, when Men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare; 495
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
 Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
 Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
 Here or in heav'nly Paradises dwell; 500
 If ye be found obedient, and retain

Un-

short ones, and particularly in the second line after this

To vital spi'rits aspire;

and the second syllable in *odorous* is to be pronounced long, tho' the poet makes it short in other places, IV. 166.

So entertain'd those *odorous* sweets the Fiend:
 but these are not the only instances, where Milton makes use of this same poetical licence.

498. — *and wing'd ascend*

Ethereal, as we,] It is the doctrine of the ablest

Divines and primitive Fathers of the Catholic Church, that if Adam had not sinned, he would never have died, but would have been translated from Earth to Heaven; and this doctrine the reader may see illustrated in the learned Bishop Bull's discourse *of the state of man before the fall*. Our author no doubt was very well acquainted with the sense of antiquity in this particular; and admitting the notion, what he says is poetical at least, if you will not allow it to be probable and rational.

503. *Whose*

Unalterably firm his love entire,
 Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
 Your fill what happiness this happy state
 Can comprehend, incapable of more. 505

To whom the patriarch of mankind reply'd.
 O favorable Spirit, propitious guest,
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
 Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
 From center to circumference, whereon 510
 In contemplation of created things
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
 What meant that caution join'd, If ye be found
 Obedient? can we want obedience then
 To him, or possibly his love desert, 515
 Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss

Human

503. *Whose progeny you are.*] From St. Paul Acts XVII. 28. *For we are also his offspring;* who took it from Aratus, Του γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν.

504. *Your fill what happiness*] Your fill of what happiness, or to your fill what happiness.

509. — and the scale of nature set

From center to circumference,] The scale or ladder of nature ascends by steps from a point, a center, to the whole circumference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vastly expressive. *Matter, one first matter* is this center; nature infinitely diversify'd is the scale which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whose circumference *who can*

Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,
 Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God; 520
 That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.
 God made thee perfect, not immutable;
 And good he made thee, but to persevere 525
 He left it in thy pow'r; ordain'd thy will
 By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
 Inextricable, or strict necessity:
 Our voluntary service he requires,
 Not our necessitated; such with him 530
 Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
 Can hearts, not free, be try'd whether they serve
 Willing or no, who will but what they must

By

can tell? Uncircumscrib'd he fills infinitude,
 VII. 170. Richardson.

512. *By steps we may ascend to God.*] There is a real visible ladder (besides that visionary one of Jacob) whose foot, tho' placed on the earth among the lowest of the creation, yet leads us *by steps in contemplation of created things* up to God the invisible creator of all things. Hume.

VOL. I.

520. *Attend: &c.*] The sentences here are very short, as every thing ought to be in the preceptive way. *Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis,* is the rule of Horace, *De Arte Poet.* 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, so likewise to his practice, as particularly in that string of precepts, *Epist. I. II. 55. Sperne voluptates, &c.*

Z z

546. — than

By destiny, and can no other choose?
 Myself and all th' angelic host, that stand 535
 In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
 On other surety none; freely we serve,
 Because we freely love, as in our will
 To love or not; in this we stand or fall: 540
 And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,
 And so from Heav'n to deepest Hell; O fall
 From what high state of bliss into what woe!

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
 Attentive, and with more delighted ear, 545
 Divine instructor, I have heard, than when
 Cherubic songs by night from neighb'ring hills
 Aereal music send: nor knew I not

To

546. — *than when*
Cherubic songs &c.] Adam had mention'd
 these nightly songs of the Angels with pleasure
 in IV. 680. &c. But still he prefers the
 conversation of the Angel, and thinks dis-
 course more sweet,

For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense.

548. — *nor knew I not*
To be both will and deed created free;] Nor
 was it unknown to me that my will and actions

are free. I knew I was free. Two negatives
 make an affirmative. *Richardson.*

551. — *whose command*
Single is yet so just,] That is the command
 not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only com-
 mand given to Man; and it is spoken of much
 in the same manner in IV. 419.

— He who requires
 From us no other service than to keep
 This one, this easy charge.

And

To be both will and deed created free;
 Yet that we never shall forget to love 550
 Our Maker, and obey him whose command
 Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts
 Assur'd me', and still assure: though what thou tell'st
 Hath past in Heav'n, some doubt within me move,
 But more desire to hear, if thou consent, 555
 The full relation, which must needs be strange,
 Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun
 Hath finish'd half his journey', and scarce begins
 His other half in the great zone of Heaven. 560

Thus Adam made request; and Raphaël
 After short pause assenting, thus began.

High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime of men,
 Sad

And again, ver. 432.

— Then let us not think hard
 One easy prohibition, who enjoy
 Free leave so large to all things else.

And this command tho' *single*, and therefore
 on that account to be obey'd, *is yet so just*, that
 it lays a farther obligation upon our obe-
 dience.

557. *Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;*]
 Worthy of religious silence, such as was re-

quir'd at the sacrifices and other religious cere-
 monies of the Ancients; alluding to that of
 Horace, Od. II. XIII. 29, 30.

Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere. Richardson.

563. *High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime*
of men,

Sad task and hard; &c.] It is customary with
 the epic poets to introduce by way of episode
 and narration the principal events, which hap-
 pen'd

Sad task and hard; for how shall I relate
 To human sense th' invisible exploits 565
 Of warring Spirits? how without remorse
 The ruin of so many glorious once
 And perfect while they stood? how last unfold
 The secrets of another world, perhaps
 Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good 570
 This is dispens'd; and what surmounts the reach
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
 By likening spiritual to corporal forms,

As

pen'd before the action of the poem commences: And as Homer's Ulysses relates his adventures to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Æneas recounts the history of the siege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido; so the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world; and begins his narration of the fall of Angels, much in the same manner as Æneas does his account of the destruction of Troy, Virg. Æn. II. 3.

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

574. — *though what if Earth &c.*] In order to make Adam comprehend these things the Angel tells him that he must *liken spiritual to corporal forms*, and questions whether there is not a greater similitude and resemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagin'd, which is suggested very artfully, as it is indeed the best apology that could be made for those bold figures,

which Milton has employ'd, and especially in his description of the battels of the Angels.

577. *As yet this world was not, &c.*] Had I follow'd Monsieur Bossu's method, I should have dated the action of Paradise Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the Æneid to begin in the second book of that poem. I could allege many reasons for my drawing the action of the Æneid rather from its immediate beginning in the first book, than from its remote beginning in the second; and show why I have consider'd the sacking of Troy as an *episode*, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which ever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in

As may exprefs them beft; though what if Earth
 Be but the fhadow' of Heav'n, and things therein 575
 Each to' other like, more than on earth is thought?

As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
 Reign'd where thefe Heav'ns now roll, where Earth
 Upon her center pois'd; when on a day [now refts
 (For time, though in eternity, apply'd 580
 To motion, meafures all things durable
 By prefent, paft, and future) on fuch day
 As Heav'n's great year brings forth, th' empyreal hoft
 Of

in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the firft revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The occafion which Milton affigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in holy Writ, and on the opinion of fome great writers, fo it was the moft proper that the poet could have made ufe of. The revolt in Heaven is defcribed with great force of imagination, and a fine variety of circumftances. *Addifon.*

579. *Upon her center pois'd;*] *Ponderibus librata fuis*, as Ovid fays Met. I. 13. or as Milton elfewhere expreffes it, VII. 242.

And Earth felf-balanc'd on her center hung.

583. *As Heav'n's great year*] Our poet feems to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

Magnus ab integro feclorum nascitur ordo.
Virg. Ecl. IV. 5.

— *Et incipient magni procedere menfes.*
Ecl. IV. 12. Hume.

Plato's great year of the Heavens is the revolution of all the fpheres. Every thing returns to where it fet out when their motion firft began. See Aufon. Idyl. XVIII. 15. A proper time for the declaration of the vicegerency of the Son of God. Milton has the fame thought for the birth of the Angels (ver. 861.) imagining fuch kind of revolutions long before the Angels or the worlds were in being. So far back into eternity did the vaft mind of this poet carry him! *Richardfon.*

583. — *th' empyreal hoft*] We read of fuch a divine affembly in Job, I. 6. *Now there was a day when the fons of God came to prefent themfelves before the Lord.* And again, 1 Kings XXII. 19. *I faw the Lord fitting on his throne, and all the hoft of Heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left;* which was enough to furnifh the hint to Milton.

589. *Standards*

Of Angels by imperial summons call'd,
 Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne 585
 Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appear'd
 Under their Hierarchs in orders bright:
 Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
 Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear
 Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 590
 Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees;
 Or in their glittering tissues bear imblaz'd
 Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
 Of circuit inexpressible they stood, 595
 Orb within orb, the Father infinite,
 By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,
 Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top
 Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.

Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light, 600
 Thrones,

589. *Standards and gonfalons*] A *gonfalon* is some kind of streamer or banner, but of what particular sort authors do not seem to be at all agreed, and neither is it very material to know.

598. *Amidst as from a flaming mount, &c.*] This idea seems to be taken from the divine presence in the mount, Exod. XIX. when

God gave his commandments to the children of Israel, as here he is giving his great command concerning the Messiah in Heaven.

602. *Hear my decree, &c.*] We observed before that Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confin'd himself to the phrases

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.

This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill

Him have anointed, whom ye now behold 605

At my right hand; your head I him appoint;

And by myself have sworn to him shall bow

All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord:

Under his great vice-gerent reign abide

United as one individual soul 610

For ever happy: Him who disobeyes,

Me disobeyes, breaks union, and that day

Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls

Into' utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place

Ordain'd without redemption, without end. 615

So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words

All seem'd well pleas'd; all seem'd, but were not all.

That

phrases and expressions of Scripture; and in this particular speech the reader will easily remark how much of it is copy'd from holy Writ by comparing it with the following texts. *I have set my Anointed upon my holy hill of Sion; I will declare the decree, The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten*

thee. Psal. II. 6, 7. *By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord.* Gen. XXII. 16. *At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow of things in Heaven—and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.* Phil. II. 10, 11.

620. *Mystical*

That day, as other solemn days, they spent
 In song and dance about the sacred hill;
 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere 620
 Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
 Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
 Then most, when most irregular they seem;
 And in their motions harmony divine 625
 So smoothes her charming tones, that God's own ear
 Listens delighted. Evening now approach'd

(For

620. *Mystical dance, &c.*] Strange mysterious motions, which the shining sphere of the planets and fixed stars in their various revolutions imitates nearest; windings and turnings intangled and obscure, involving and surrounding one another, altho' not moving on the same center, yet then most regular and orderly, when to our weak and distant understanding they seem most irregular and disturb'd.

And those untruly errant call'd, I trow,
 Since he errs not, who doth them guide and move.

Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9. St. 6.

Astra tum ea quæ sunt infixæ certis locis,
 tum illa non re sed vocabulo errantia, &c.
 Cicero Tusc. Disp. I. 25. And in their motions such divine perfection appears, and their harmonious proportion so tunes her charming notes, that God himself, pleas'd and delighted, pronounced them good,

Gen. I. 18. There is a text in Job XXXVIII. 37. that seems to favor the opinion of the Pythagoreans, concerning the musical motion of the spheres, though our translation differ therein from other versions. *Concentum cæli quis dormire faciet?* Who shall lay asleep, or still the consort of the Heaven? But this is to be understood metaphorically, of the wonderful proportions observed by the heavenly bodies in their various motions. *Hume.*

633. — *rubied nectar*] Nectar of the color of rubies; a translation of Homer's νεκταρ ερυθρον. Iliad. XIX. 38.

— αμβροσιν και νεκταρ ερυθρον.

and Odyss. V. 93.

— παρεθηκε τραπεζαν

Αμβροσινς πλεησασα, κεραως δε νεκταρ ερυθρον.

634. *In pearl, &c.*] This feast of the Angels

(For we have also' our evening and our morn,
 We ours for change delectable, not need)
 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn 630
 Desirous; all in circles as they stood,
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
 With Angels food, and rubied nectar flows
 In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
 Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven. 635
 On flow'rs repos'd, and with fresh flow'rets crown'd,
 They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet

Quaff

Angels is much richer than the banquet of the Gods in Homer's Iliad, IV. 3. Homer's Gods drink nectar in golden cups χρυσέοις δεπασσιν; but here the nectar flows *in pearl, in diamond, and massy gold*.

637. *They eat, they drink, &c.*] In the first edition it was thus,

They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
 Are fill'd, before th' all-bounteous King,

In the second edition the author alter'd it and added as follows,

They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
 Quaff immortality and joy, secure
 Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
 Excess, before th' all-bounteous King,

Dr. Bentley is for restoring the former reading, but we think that *in communion sweet* gives a much better idea than *with refection sweet*. To

VOL. I.

quaff immortality and joy, to drink largely and plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical expression, and plainly alluding to Psal. XXXVI. 8, 9. *Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures; for with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see light*. If these verses were left out, then (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) the words in ver. 641. which represent God as *rejoicing in their joy*, would refer to something that is nowhere to be found; and therefore Milton (he supposes) inserted these verses in the second edition, that the joy of the Angels might be express'd. *Secure of surfeit*, are in no danger of it, are not liable to it, as men are. *Where full measure only bounds excess*, full measure is the only thing that stints and limits them; the utmost they are capable of containing is the only bound set to them; they have full measure, but they cannot be too full, they cannot overflow; *without o'erflowing full*.

A a a

641. — *rejoicing*

Quaff immortality and joy, secure
 Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
 Excess, before th' all-bounteous King, who show'rd
 With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy. 641
 Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd
 From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
 Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd
 To grateful twilight (for night comes not there 645
 In darker veil) and roseat dew dispos'd
 All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;
 Wide over all the plain, and wider far
 Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,
 (Such are the courts of God) th' angelic throng, 650
 Dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
 By living streams among the trees of life,
 Pavilions numberless, and sudden rear'd,

Celestial

641. — *rejoicing in their joy.*] What an idea of the divine goodness, whose perfect happiness seems to receive an addition from that of his creatures! *Richardson.*

642. — *ambrosial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambrosial*, Ἀμβροσίην δια νυκτῆα, Iliad. II. 57. and sleep for the same reason *ambrosial*, ver. 19. because it refreshes and strengthens as much as food, as much as ambrosia.

646. *In darker veil*] Milton spells this word differently, sometimes *vail*, sometimes *veil*; but *veil* is right from the Latin *velum*.

647. *All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;*] So the Psalmist, Psal. CXXI. 4. *He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.* The author had likewise Homer in mind, Iliad. II. 1.

Ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ Θεοὶ —

Εὐδον πάννυχτοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχει νηδυμὸς ὕπνος.
 Th'im-

Celestial tabernacles, where they slept 654

Fann'd with cool winds; save those who in their course

Melodious hymns about the sovran throne

Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd

Satan; so call him now, his former name

Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the first,

If not the first Arch-Angel, great in power, 660

In favor and præeminence, yet fraught

With envy' against the Son of God, that day

Honor'd by his great Father, and proclam'd

Messiah King anointed, could not bear 664

Through pride that sight, and thought himself impair'd.

Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,

Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour

Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd

With all his legions to dislodge, and leave

Un-

Th'immortals slumber'd on their thrones
above,

All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of Jove.

Pope.

653. — and sudden-rear'd,] There is no
need to read *rear* with Dr. Bentley. *Rear'd*
here is a participle. Their tents were num-
berless; and rear'd of a sudden.

657. *Alternate all night long:*] *Alternate* is

a verb here; *alternate hymns*, sing by turns,
and answer one another.

Illi alternantes multa vi prælia miscent.

Virg. Georg. III. 220. of two bulls fighting.

Hæc alternanti potior sententia visa est.

Æn. IV. 287. of Æneas deliberating whether
he should stay or go.

A a a 2

671. — *his*

Unworshipt, unobey'd the throne supreme 670
 Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
 Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake.

Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close
 Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree
 Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips 675
 Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
 Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
 Both waking we were one; how then can now
 Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou seest impos'd;

New

671. — *his next subordinate*] Beelzebub, who is always represented second to Satan. Satan addresses him first here, as he does likewise upon the burning lake, Book I.

673. *Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close*

Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree &c.] We have printed the passage with Milton's own punctuation. *Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, Εὐδεις Ἀτρεσ? οὐκ; Iliad. II. 23. What sleep can close thy eye-lids? and remember'st &c. that is when thou remember'st &c.*

— *potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?*
 Virg. *Æn.* IV. 560.

It is just the same manner of speaking as in II. 730.

— *what fury, O Son,*
Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
Against thy Father's head? and know'st for whom,
at the same time that thou know'st for whom.

682. — *more in this place*

To utter is not safe.] This is a verse, but I believe the reader will agree, that it could not have had so good an effect, had it been an entire verse by itself, as it has now it is broken and made part of two verses.

684. *Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;*] Dr. Bentley reads *the chiefs*: but Milton speaks after the same manner as here, in II. 469. *Others among the chief &c.* And in both places *the chief* signifies the same as *the chiefs*, only this is a substantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the word *Angels* understood in the construction. *Pearce.*

685. *Tell them that by command, &c.*] He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture. John VIII. 44. *The Devil is a liar, and the father of lies.*

689. *The quarters of the north;*] See Sannazarius *De partu Virginis*, III. 40.

Vos,

New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
 In us who serve, new counsels, to debate 681
 What doubtful may ensue: more in this place
 To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
 Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;
 Tell them that by command, ere yet dim night 685
 Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
 And all who under me their banners wave,
 Homeward with flying march where we possess
 The quarters of the north; there to prepare

Fit

Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum fervilibus
 armis,
 Arcetumque furor pertenderet impius axem
 Scandere, et in gelidos regnum transferre
 Triones,
 Fida manus mecum mansistis.

There are other passages in the same poem of
 which Milton has made use. *Jortin.*

Some have thought that Milton intended, but
 I dare say he was above intending here any re-
 flection upon Scotland, tho' being himself an
 Independent, he had no great affection for the
 Scotch Presbyterians. He had the authority,
 we see, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's re-
 bellion in *the quarters of the north*, and he had
 much better authority, the same that Sannaza-
 rius had, that of the Prophet, whose words
 though apply'd to the king of Babylon, yet
 allude to this rebellion of Satan, Isaiah XIV.
 12, 13. *How art thou fall'n from Heaven, O*

*Lucifer, son of the morning! — For thou hast
 said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I
 will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I
 will sit also upon the mount of the congregation
 in the sides of the north.* The north conveys
 the idea of a disagreeable cold inclement sky;
 and in Scripture we read, *Out of the north an
 evil shall break forth*, Jer. I. 14. *I will bring
 evil from the north and a great destruction*, Jer.
 IV. 6. *Evil appeareth out of the north*, Jer.
 VI. 1. And Shakespear in like manner calls
 Satan *the monarch of the north*, 1 Henry VI.
 Act V.

And ye choice Spirits, that admonish me,
 And give me signs of future accidents,
 You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
 Under the lordly monarch of the north.

I have seen too a Latin poem by Odoricus
 Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and
 intitled *Dæmonomachia sive De Bello Intelligen-
 tiarum*

Fit entertainment to receive our king 690
 The great Messiah, and his new commands,
 Who speedily through all the hierarchies
 Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.

So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd
 Bad influence into th' unwary breast 695
 Of his associate: he together calls,
 Or several one by one, the regent Powers,
 Under him regent; tells, as he was taught,
 That the most High commanding, now ere night,
 Now ere dim night had disincumber'd Heaven, 700
 The

tiarum super Divini Verbi incarnatione. This poem is longer than the Iliad, for it consists of five and twenty books; but it equals the Iliad in nothing but in length, for the poetry is very indifferent. However in some particulars the plan of this poem is very like Paradise Lost. It opens with the exaltation of the Son of God, and thereupon Lucifer revolts, and draws a third part of the Angels after him into the quarters of the north.

— pars tertia lævam

Hoc duce persequitur, gelidoque aquilone locatur.

It is more probable, that Milton had seen this poem than some others, from which he is charged with borrowing largely. He was indeed an universal scholar, and read all sorts of authors, and took hints from the Moderns as well as the Ancients. He was a great genius, but a great genius form'd by reading; and as

it was said of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of other authors.

702. *Tells the suggested cause,*] The cause that Satan had suggested, namely to prepare entertainment for their new king and receive his laws: *and casts between ambiguous words,* imitated from Virg. Æn. II. 98.

— hinc spargere voces

In vulgum ambiguas.

708. *His count'nance, as the morning star that guides &c.*] This similitude is not so new as poetical. Virgil in like manner compares the beautiful young Pallas to the morning star, Æn. VIII. 589.

Qualis, ubi oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
 Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes,
 Extulit os sacrum cœlo, tenebrasque resolvit.
 So from the seas exerts his radiant head
 The star, by whom the lights of Heav'n are led;

Shakes

The great hierarchal standard was to move;
 Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
 Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
 Or taint integrity: but all obey'd
 The wonted signal, and superior voice 705
 Of their great potentate; for great indeed
 His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;
 His count'nance, as the morning star that guides
 The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host. 710
 Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns

Ab-

Shakes from his rosy locks the pearly dews,
 Dispels the darkness, and the day renews.

Dryden.

But there is a much greater propriety in Milton's comparing Satan to the morning star, as he is often spoken of under the name of Lucifer, as well as denominated in Scripture, *Lucifer son of the morning*. Isaiah XIV. 12.

709. — and with lies &c.] Dr. Bentley says that the author gave it *and his lies* &c. but by the expression *his countenance* is meant he himself, a part being put for the whole, as in II. 683. we have *front* put for the whole person: it is very frequent in Scripture to use the word *face* or *countenance* in this sense: as in Luke IX. 53. we read of our Saviour, that the *Samaritans did not receive him, because his face was as tho' he* (Greek, it) *would go to Jerusalem*. See also Levit. XIX. 32. But if this will not be allow'd to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be said that Satan's *countenance*, se-

ducing his followers by disguising the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly said to *seduce with lies*. We read in Cicero's Epistles to his brother, *frons, oculi, vultus per sepe mentiuntur*. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. c. 5. Pearce.

710. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.*] Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and did cast them to the earth. Rev. XII. 3, 4. Dr. Bentley finds fault with this verse as very bad measure: but as a person of much better taste observes, there is a great beauty in the fall of the numbers in this line after the majesty of those before and after it, occasion'd principally by the change of the fourth foot from an iambic into a trochaic; an artifice often made use of by Milton to vary his numbers by those discords.

Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.

711. *Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns* &c.] Dr. Bentley seems very sure that

Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount
 And from within the golden lamps that burn
 Nightly before him, saw without their light
 Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread 715
 Among the sons of morn, what multitudes
 Were banded to oppose his high decree;
 And smiling to his only Son thus said.

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
 In full resplendence, Heir of all my might, 720
 Nearly it now concerns us to be sure

OF

that Milton's text is wrong here, because in the course of the construction it is said of *this eternal eye* that it *smiling said*, ver. 718. He would therefore persuade us that Milton gave it

Mean while th' Eternal, *He* whose sight discerns &c.

But would not *He* in this place thus following *th' Eternal* be a botch in poetry? Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expressing only some part or quality of a person, when he means the person himself, and goes on to say things which (properly speaking) are applicable only to the person himself. And Milton had good authority for doing so: in Psal. LIV. 7. the eye is made a person, *mine eye shall see his desire upon mine enemies*: so in Mat. XX. 15. the eye is put for the whole man, *Is thine eye evil, because I am good?* See also Prov. XXX. 17. *Pearce.*
His count'nance allur'd, and with lies drew after

him &c. The eternal eye saw &c. and smiling said — give great offence to Dr. Bentley, and Dr. Pearce says, *his countenance* and *the eternal eye* are the part for the whole or the person. But a very learned and ingenious friend questions, whether they are not here used equivocally, and to be construed either as one or the other according as the sense requires. 'Tis Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning star, but 'tis Satan himself that draws them after him with lies; so the eternal eye sees, but the *smiling said* must relate to the Eternal himself. Spenser has a stronger instance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the critics, and it is repeated as here in Milton. Spenser's Epithalamion.

Her long loose yellow locks like golden wire,
 Sprinkled with pearl, and perling flow'rs atween,
 Do like a golden mantle *her attire*:
 And being crowned with a girland green,
 Seem like some maiden queen.

Her

Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
 We mean to hold what anciently we clame
 Of deity or empire; such a foe
 Is rising, who intends to' erect his throne 725
 Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
 Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
 In battel, what our pow'r is, or our right.
 Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
 With speed what force is left, and all employ 730
 In our defense, lest unawares we lose

This

*Her modest eyes abashed to behold
 So many gazers, as on her do stare,
 Upon the lowly ground affixed are;
 Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,
 But blush to hear her praises sung so loud,
 So far from being proud.*

713. *And from within the golden lamps]* Alluding to the lamps before the throne of God, which St. John saw in his vision, Rev. IV. 5. *And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne.*

716. *Among the sons of morn,]* The Angels are here call'd *sons of the morning*, as Lucifer is in Isa. XIV. 12. probably upon account of their early creation; or to express the angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day. Job. XI. 17. *Thine age shall be clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning.* XXXVIII. 7. *When the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy.* See also Cant. VI. 10. Isa. LVIII. 8. *Richardson.*

VOL. I.

718. *And smiling]* Let not the pious reader be offended, because the supreme Being is represented as *smiling* and speaking ironically of his foes; for such figures of speech are not unusual in the Scripture itself. Immediately after the fall of Man we read, Gen. III. 22. *And the Lord God said, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.* There are several instances of the like manner of speaking in the prophets. But this is particularly grounded upon Psal. II. 1. &c. *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagin a vain thing? — against the Lord and against his Anointed — He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.* It appears that our author had this passage in view, by his making the Son allude so plainly to it in his answer.

— Mighty Father, thou thy foes
 Justly hast in derision, and secure
 Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain.

719. — *in whom my glory I behold*
 B b b

In

This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.

To whom the Son with calm aspect and clear,
 Lightning divine, ineffable, serene,
 Made answer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes 735
 Justly hast in derision, and secure
 Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain,
 Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
 Illustrates, when they see all regal power
 Giv'n me to quell their pride, and in event 740
 Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
 Thy rebels, or be found the worst in Heaven.

So spake the Son; but Satan with his Powers
 Far was advanc'd on winged speed, an host
 Innumerable as the stars of night, 745
 Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun
 Im-

In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,]
For he is the brightness of his Father's glory, and
appointed heir of all things, Heb. I. 2, 3.

734. *Lightning divine,]* If *lightning* is a participle, the adjective *divine* is to be taken adverbially, as if he had said *Lightning divinely*: but it is rather a substantive, and in Scripture the Angel's countenance is said to have been like *lightning*, Dan. X. 6. Mat. XXVIII. 3.

746. *Or stars of morning, dew-drops,]* Innumerable as the stars is an old simile, but this

of the stars of morning, dew-drops, seems as new as it is beautiful: And the sun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls; as the morn was said before to sow the earth *with orient pearl*, ver. 2.

750. *In their triple degrees;]* This notion of *triples* in all the oeconomy of Angels is started by Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 96.

In battel round of squadrons *three* they stood,
 And all by *threes* those squadrons ranged were:
 and

Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
 Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies
 Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
 In their triple degrees; regions to which 750
 All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
 Than what this garden is to all the earth,
 And all the sea, from one entire globose
 Stretch'd into longitude; which having pass'd
 At length into the limits of the north 755
 They came, and Satan to his royal seat
 High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
 Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
 From diamond quarries hew'n, and rocks of gold;
 The palace of great Lucifer, (so call 760
 That structure in the dialect of men
 In-

and by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 12.
 St. 39.

Like as it had been many an Angel's voice
 Singing before th' eternal Majesty,
 In their *trinal triplicities* on high.

The fancy was borrow'd from the Schoolmen.
Bentley.

Spenser has again the same notion, and uses
 the same expression in his Hymn of heavenly
 love,

There they in their *trinal triplicities*
 About him wait, and on his will depend.

761. — *in the dialect of men*] The learned
 reader cannot but be pleased with the poet's
 imitation of Homer in this line. Homer
 mentions persons and things, which he tells
 us in the language of the Gods are call'd by
 different names from those they go by in the
 language of men. Milton has imitated him
 with his usual judgment in this particular place,
 B b b 2 wherein

Interpreted) which not long after, he
 Affecting all equality with God,
 In imitation of that mount whereon
 Messiah was declar'd in sight of Heaven, 765
 The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
 For thither he assembled all his train,
 Pretending so commanded to consult
 About the great reception of their king
 Thither to come, and with calumnious art 770
 Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 If these magnific titles yet remain
 Not merely titular, since by decree
 Another now hath to himself ingross'd 775
 All pow'r, and us eclips'd under the name
 Of King anointed, for whom all this haste

Of

wherein he has likewise the authority of Scripture to justify him.

Addison.

The scholiasts and commentators upon Homer endeavor to account for this manner of speaking several ways; but the most probable is, that he attributes those names which are in use only among the learned to the Gods, and those which are in vulgar use to men. However that be, this manner of speaking certainly

gives a dignity to the poem, and looks as if the poets had conversed with the Gods themselves.

766. *The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;*] Alluding to what we quoted before from Isa. XIV. 13. *I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.*

790. *Natives and sons of Heav'n possess'd before*
 By

Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
 This only to consult how we may best
 With what may be devis'd of honors new 780
 Receive him coming to receive from us
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
 Too much to one, but double how indur'd,
 To one and to his image now proclam'd?
 But what if better counsels might erect 785
 Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?
 Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
 The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust
 To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
 Natives and sons of Heav'n possess'd before 790
 By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
 Equally free; for orders and degrees
 Jar not with liberty, but well consist.

Who

By none,] Dr. Bentley's false pointing of this passage has led others to mistake the sense of it, as well as himself. He refers the word *possess'd* to *natives and sons*, but should it not rather be referred to *Heav'n* the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton's own editions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's? And is not the passage to be understood thus, that *No one possess'd*

Heaven before them, they were a sort of Aborigines? which notion Satan explains more at large in his following speech, ver. 859.

We know no time when we were not as now;
 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
 By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal course
 Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
 Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons.

792.

— for orders and degrees

jar

Who can in reason then or right assume
 Monarchy over such as live by right 795
 His equals, if in pow'r and splendor less,
 In freedom equal? or can introduce
 Law and edict on us, who without law
 Err not? much less for This to be our Lord,
 And look for adoration to th' abuse 800
 Of those imperial titles, which assert
 Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse without controll
 Had audience, when among the Seraphim
 Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd 805
 The Deity, and divine commands obey'd,
 Stood

Far not with liberty, but well consist.] Far,
 a metaphor taken from music, to which both
 the philosophers and poets have always loved
 to compare government. So Shakespear,
 Henry V. Act I.

For government, though high, and low, and
 lower,
 Put into parts, doth keep in one consent;
 Congreeing in a full and natural close,
 Like music:

and in Troilus and Cressida, Act I.

Take but degree away, untune that string,
 And hark what discord follows.

799. — *much less for This to be our Lord,]*
 This passage seems to me as inexplicable al-
 most as any in Milton. Dr. Bentley thinks it
 hard to find what *for this* relates to; and there-
 fore reads *forethink*, or if we have no regard
 to the likeness of the letters, *aspire*, *presume*,
 or other such word. Then the series (he says)
 will be this, *Who can introduce law and edict on*
us? much less can he *forethink*, take it in his
 scheme or view, *to become our Lord* and master.
 Dr. Pearce says, that the sentence is elliptical,
 and may be supply'd thus, *much less* can he *for*
this (viz. for our being *less in power and splen-*
dor, ver. 796.) in right assume *to be our Lord*.
 Mr. Richardson understands it to be spoken
 blasphemously.

Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe,
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

O argument blasphemous, false and proud!
Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven 810
Expected, least of all from thee, Ingrate,
In place thyself so high above thy peers.
Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn
The just decree of God, pronounc'd and sworn,
That to his only Son by right indued 815
With regal scepter, every soul in Heaven
Shall bend the knee, and in that honor due
Confess him rightful King? unjust, thou say'st,
Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,

And

blasphemously and with contempt of the Messiah, *This another*, ver. 775. *This King anointed*, ver. 777. And then the sense will run after this manner, *Who can then in justice assume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much less can he introduce a law and edict for This* (I don't say what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us*. But then we must write *This* with a great letter, and we must not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the speech. If we should, I imagine we should be oblig'd to read *much more* instead of *much less*.

809. *O argument blasphemous*,] And so likewise in VI. 360.

Refrain'd his tongue *blasphemous*; but anon, &c. which are the only two places where he uses the word, he pronounces the second syllable long according to the Greek. And so Spenser too uses the word, *Fairy Queen*, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 34.

And therein shut up his *blasphemous* tongue. And St. 25.

And altars fouled, and *blasphemy* spoke.

835. — of

And equal over equals to let reign, 820
 One over all with unsucceeded power.
 Shalt thou give law to God, shalt thou dispute
 With him the points of liberty, who made
 Thee what thou art, and form'd the Pow'rs of Heaven
 Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd their being? 825
 Yet by experience taught we know how good,
 And of our good and of our dignity
 How provident he is, how far from thought
 To make us less, bent rather to exalt
 Our happy state under one head more near 830
 United. But to grant it thee unjust,
 That equal over equals monarch reign:
 Thyself though great and glorious dost thou count,
 Or all angelic nature join'd in one,
 Equal to him begotten Son? by whom 835
 As by his Word the mighty Father made
 All things, ev'n thee; and all the Spi'rits of Heaven
 By him created in their bright degrees,

Crown'd

835. — by whom &c.] Col. I. 16, 17. *Heaven, and that are in Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities,*

Crown'd them with glory', and to their glory nam'd
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 Effential Pow'rs ; nor by his reign obscur'd, 841
 But more illustrious made ; since he the head
 One of our number thus reduc'd becomes ;
 His laws our laws ; all honor to him done
 Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage, 845
 And tempt not these ; but hasten to appease
 Th' incens'd Father, and th' incens'd Son,
 While pardon may be found in time besought.

So spake the fervent Angel ; but his zeal
 None seconded, as out of season judg'd, 850
 Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic'd
 Th' Apostate, and more haughty thus reply'd.
 That we were form'd then say'st thou ? and the work
 Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd
 From Father to his Son ? strange point and new ! 855
 Doctrin which we would know whence learn'd : who saw
 When this creation was ? remember'st thou

Thy

*principalities, or powers; all things were created by
 him and for him, and he is before all things, and by*
 VOL. I.

*him all things consist : and the conclusion of this
 speech is taken from the conclusion of Psal. II.*
 C c c 861. — when

Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
 We know no time when we were not as now;
 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd 860
 By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal course
 Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
 Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons.
 Our puissance is our own; our own right hand
 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try 865
 Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold
 Whether by supplication we intend
 Address, and to begirt th' almighty throne
 Beseeching or besieging. This report,
 These tidings carry to th' anointed King; 870

And

861. — *when fatal course &c.*] We may observe that our author makes Satan a sort of fatalist. We Angels (says he) were *self-begot, self-rais'd by our own quick'ning pow'r, when the course of fate had completed its full round and period*; then we were *the birth mature*, the production in due season, *of this our native Heaven*. No compliment to fatalism to put it into the mouth of the Devil.

864. *Our puissance is our own*;] It has been wonder'd that Milton should constantly pronounce this word and *puissant* the adjective with two syllables, when they would be more sono-

rous with three. But in this he conforms to the practice and example of the best writers. So Fairfax in his Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 55.

And 'gainst the northern gate my *puissance* bend.
 and Cant. 19. St. 72.

Of this your terrible and *puissant* knight.

Tho' Spenser I find makes them sometimes three, as well as sometimes two Syllables. As Shakespear does likewise, 2 Hen. IV. Act I.

Upon the pow'r and *puissance* of the king,
 and a little afterwards,

And

And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He said, and as the sound of waters deep
Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
Through the infinite host; nor less for that
The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone 875
Incompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold.

O alienate from God, O Spirit accurs'd,
Forfaken of all good; I see thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread 880
Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Messiah; those indulgent laws

Will

And come against us in full *puissance*.

In the former line *puissance* is used as two syllables, and in the latter as three. It was certainly better in Milton to make it all the one or all the other.

864. — *our own right hand*
Shall teach us highest deeds,] From Psal.
XLV. 4. *Thine own right hand shall teach thee*
terrible things.

Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro.

Virg. Æn. X. 773. Bentley.

869. *Beseeching or besieging.*] Those which are thought the faults of Milton may be justified by the authority of the best writers. This sort of jingle is like that in Terence, Andria, Act I. Sc. III. 13.

— *inceptio est amentium, haud amantium;*
and that in Shakespear, Hamlet, Act I.

A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*.

872. — *and as the sound of waters deep*]
The voice of a great multitude applauding is in
like

Will not be now vouchsaf'd; other decrees
 Against thee are gone forth without recall; 885
 That golden scepter, which thou didst reject,
 Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
 Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
 These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath 890
 Impendent, raging into sudden flame
 Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
 His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
 Then who created thee lamenting learn,
 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know. 895
 So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found

Among

like manner compared, Rev. XIX. 6. to the voice of many waters.

887. *Is now an iron rod to bruise and break*] Alluding to Psal. II. 9. *Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron*: or rather to the old translation, *Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potters vessel.*

890. *These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath &c.*] In allusion probably to the rebellion of Korah &c. Numb. XVI. where Moses exhorts the congregation, saying, *Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men,*

lest ye be consumed in all their sins, ver. 26. But the construction without doubt is deficient. It may be supply'd (as Dr. Pearce says) by understanding *but I fly* before the word *lest*. See the same elliptical way of speaking in II. 483. But it would be plainer and easier with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it;

These wicked tents devote, but lest the wrath &c.

896. *So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found &c.*] The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this infinite host of Angels preserved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us

Among the faithless, faithful only he;
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshaken, uneduc'd, unterrify'd
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal; 900
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought; 905
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud tow'rs to swift destruction doom'd.

us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of sentiments and expressions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous scorn and intrepidity which

attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless design'd it as a pattern to those, who live among mankind in their present state of degeneracy and corruption. *Addison.*

The end of the Fifth Book.

Among the faithful, faithful only he
Among innumerable falls, unmoved,
Unshaken, undimmed, undimmed
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Not number, nor example with him wronging
To twist from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single. From amidst them torn he pass'd
Long way through hostile team, which he sustain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought;
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud towers to swift destruction doom'd.

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neracy and corruption.





J. Hayman inv. et del.

C. Grignion Sculp.

THE
SIXTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

T H E A R G U M E N T.

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battel against Satan and his Angels. The first fight describ'd: Satan and his Powers retire under night: He calls a council, invents devilish engins, which in the second day's fight put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelm'd both the force and machines of Satan: Yet the tumult not so ending, God on the third day sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had reserv'd the glory of that victory: He in the power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepar'd for them in the deep: Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

PARADISE LOST.

B O O K VI.

We are now entring upon the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*, in which the poet describes the battel of Angels; having raised his reader's expectation, and prepared him for it by several passages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting these passages in my observations upon the former books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the subject of which gave occasion to them. The author's imagination was so inflam'd with this great scene of action, that wherever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem, I. 44. &c.

—— Him the almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantin chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy th'Omnipotent to arms.

We have likewise several noble hints of it in the infernal conference, I. 128. &c.

O Prince! O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th'imbattel'd Seraphim to war,
Too well I see and rue the dire event,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low.
But see! the angry victor hath recall'd
His ministers of vengeance and pursuit
Back to the gates of Heav'n: the sulphurous
hail

Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery surges, that from the precipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,

VOL. I.

Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.

There are several other very sublime images on the same subject in the first book, as also in the second, II. 165. &c.

What when we fled amain, pursued and struck
With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought
The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds.

In short, the poet never mentions any thing of this battel but in such images of greatness and terror as are suitable to the subject. Among several others I cannot forbear quoting that passage, where the Power, who is described as presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the second book, II. 988. &c.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltring speech and visage compos'd,
Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's king, though over-
thrown.

I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
Fled not in silence through the frightened deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n-gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing.

It requir'd great pregnancy of invention and strength of imagination, to fill this battel with such circumstances as should raise and astonish the mind of the reader; and at the same time an exactness of judgment, to avoid every thing

D d d

that

ALL night the dreadless Angel unpursued
Through Heav'n's wide champain held his way;
till morn,

Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
Within the mount of God, fast by his throne, 5
Where light and darkness in perpetual round [Heaven
Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through
Grateful vicissitude, like day and night;
Light issues forth, and at the other door
Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour 10
To veil the Heav'n, though darkness there might well
Seem twilight here: and now went forth the morn
Such as in highest Heav'n, array'd in gold

Em-

that might appear light or trivial. Those who look into Homer, are surpris'd to find his bat-tels still rising one above another, and improving in horror, to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of Angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is usher'd in with such signs of wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carry'd on under a cope of fire, occasion'd by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are discharged from either host. The second onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders, which seem to make the victory doubtful, and pro-

duce a kind of consternation even in the good Angels. This is follow'd by the tearing up of mountains and promontaries; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the noise of his chariot-wheels, is described with the utmost flights of human imagination.

Addison.

2.

— till morn,

*Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand**Unbarr'd the gates of light.] This is copied**from Homer's Iliad, V. 749. where the hours*

are

Empyreal; from before her vanish'd night,
 Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain 15
 Cover'd with thick imbattel'd squadrons bright,
 Chariots and flaming arms, and fiery steeds
 Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view:
 War he perceiv'd, war in procinct, and found
 Already known what he for news had thought 20
 To have reported: gladly then he mix'd
 Among those friendly Pow'rs, who him receiv'd
 With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
 That of so many myriads fall'n, yet one
 Return'd not lost: On to the sacred hill 25
 They led him high applauded, and present
 Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice

From

are feign'd in like manner to guard the gates
 of Heaven.

——— πύλαι — ἑρως, ας εχον Ωραι,
 Της επιτετραπῆαι μεγας ἑρως, Ουλυμπος τε,
 Ημεν αναλιναι πυκινον νεφῶ, ηδ' επιθειναι.

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged
 hours;

Commission'd in alternate watch they stand,
 The sun's bright portals and the skies command,
 Involve in clouds th' eternal gates of day,
 Or the dark barrier roll with ease away. Pope.

14. — *vanish'd night*,] It is very absurdly
 printed in some editions, *vanquish'd night*.

15. *Shot through with orient beams*;] This
 quaint conceit of *night's being shot through* &c
 is much below the usual dignity of Milton's
 descriptions. The Italian poets, even the very
 best of them, are fond of such boyish fancies,
 and there is no doubt but we are obliged to
 them for this. *Thyer.*

19. — *war in procinct*,] The Roman sol-
 diers were said to stand *in procinctu*, when
 ready to give the onset. *Hume.* As if you
 should say ready girded, in allusion to the
 Ancients, who just before the battel us'd to
 gird their garments close to them, which on

D d d 2

other

From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard.

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
 The better fight, who single hast maintain'd 30
 Against revolted multitudes the cause
 Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
 And for the testimony' of truth hast borne
 Universal reproach, far worse to bear
 Than violence; for this was all thy care 35
 To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
 Judg'd thee perverse: the easier conquest now
 Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
 Back on thy foes more glorious to return
 Than scorn'd thou didst depart, and to subdue 40
 By force, who reason for their law refuse,

Right

other occasions they wore very loose. See
 Festus. *Richardson.*

29. *Servant of God,*] So the name of *Abdiel*
 signifies in Hebrew.

34. *Universal reproach, far worse to bear
 Than violence;*] This sentiment is very
 just, and not unlike what Florus says in his cha-
 racter of Tarquin the proud — in omnes super-
 bia, quæ crudelitate gravior est bonis, grassatus,
 Flor. Lib. 1. c. 7. *Thyer.* *Universal re-
 proach,* Here are two Trochees, and not an
 Iambic till the third foot; and so likewise in
 V. 874.

Through the infinite host —

This measure is not very common: but as
 Mr. Jortin observes, Milton often inserts harsh
 verses, when he could easily have alter'd them,
 judging, I suppose, that they had the same ef-
 fect in poetry, which discords have in music.

41. — *reason for their law*] Alluding to
 the word Λογος.

44. *Go Michael of celestial armies prince,*] As
 this battel of the Angels is founded principally
 on Rev. XII. 7, 8. *There was war in Heaven;
 Michael and his Angels fought against the Dra-
 gon,*

Right reason for their law, and for their king
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.

Go Michael of celestial armies prince,

And thou in military prowess next

45

Gabriel, lead forth to battel these my sons

Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints

By thousands and by millions rang'd for fight,

Equal in number to that Godless crew

Rebellious; them with fire and hostile arms

50

Fearless assault, and to the brow of Heaven

Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss

Into their place of punishment, the gulf

Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide

His fiery Chaos to receive their fall.

55

So

gon, and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven; Michael is rightly made by Milton the leader of the heavenly armies, and the name in Hebrew signifies the power of God. But it may be censur'd perhaps as a piece of wrong conduct in the poem, that the commission here given is not executed; they are order'd to drive the rebel Angels out from God and bliss, but this is effected at last by the Messiah alone. Some reasons for it are assign'd in the speech of God, ver. 680. and in that of the Messiah, ver. 801. in this book.

55. *His fiery Chaos*] *Chaos* may mean any place of confusion; but if we take it strictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos (II. 1002.) and therefore that part of it, being stor'd with fire, may not improperly be call'd *a fiery Chaos*. Dr. Bentley's change of *his* into *its*, because *which* (not *who*) went before, proceeds upon a supposition that *which* is not to be referred to a person; though it is well known that formerly *which* was as often apply'd to a person as *who*: as Dr. Pearce observes.

So spake the sovran voice, and clouds began
 To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
 In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign
 Of wrath awak'd; nor with less dread the loud
 Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow: 60
 At which command the Powers militant,
 That stood for Heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd
 Of union irresistible, mov'd on
 In silence their bright legions, to the sound
 Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd 65
 Heroic ardor to adventurous deeds
 Under their God-like leaders, in the cause
 Of God and his Messiah. On they move
 In-

56. — *and clouds began*
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll &c.]
 In this description the author manifestly alludes
 to that of God descending upon mount Sinai,
 Exod. XIX. 16, &c. *And it came to pass on the*
third day in the morning, that there were thun-
ders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the
mount — and mount Sinai was altogether on a
smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.

58. — *reluctant flames,]* As slow and un-
 willing to break forth,

Stupa vomens tardum fumum.

Virg. Æn. V. 682.

64. *In silence]* So Homer observes, Iliad.
 III. 8. to the honor of his countrymen the
 Grecians, that they march'd on in silence,
 while the Trojans advanc'd with noise and
 clamor.

71. — *for high above the ground &c.]* Our au-
 thor attributes the same kind of motion to the
 Angels, as the Ancients did to their Gods;
 which was gliding thro' the air without ever
 touching the ground with their feet, or as Mil-
 ton elsewhere elegantly expresses it (B. VIII.
 302.) *smooth-sliding without step.* And Homer,
 Iliad. V. 778. compares the motion of two
 Goddesses to the flight of doves, as Milton
 here

Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
 Nor strait'ning vale, nor wood, nor stream divides 70
 Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
 Their march was, and the passive air upbore
 Their nimble tread; as when the total kind
 Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
 Came summon'd over Eden to receive 75
 Their names of thee; so over many a tract
 Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a province wide
 Tenfold the length of this terrene: at last
 Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd
 From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd 80
 In battailous aspect, and nearer view

Briftled

here compares the march of the Angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names,

Αἱ δ' εὖ βατὴν τρηρῶσι πτελίαςιν ἰθὺς ὁμοίαι

Smooth as the sailing doves they glide along.
 Pope.

73. — *as when the total kind &c.*] Homer has used the simile of a flight of fowls twice in his Iliad, to express the number and the motions, the order and the clamors of an army. See Iliad II. 459. III. 2. As Virgil has done the same number of times in his Æneid, VII. 699. X. 264. But this simile exceeds any of

those; First, as it rises so naturally out of the subject, and was a comparison so familiar to Adam. Secondly, the Angels were marching thro' the air, and not on the ground, which gives it another propriety; and here I believe the poet intended the chief likeness. Thirdly, The *total kind* of birds much more properly expresses a prodigious number than any particular species, or a collection in any particular place. Thus Milton has raised the image in proportion to his subject. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*. p. 9.

81. — *and nearer view &c.*] To the north appear'd a fiery region, and nearer to the view appear'd

Bristled with upright beams innumerable
 Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields
 Various, with boastful argument portray'd,
 The banded Pow'rs of Satan hasting on 85
 With furious expedition; for they ween'd
 That self-same day by fight, or by surprise,
 To win the mount of God, and on his throne
 To set the envier of his state, the proud
 Aspirer, but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain 90
 In the mid way: though strange to us it seem'd
 At first, that Angel should with Angel war,
 And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
 So oft in festivals of joy and love
 Unanimous, as sons of one great fire 95
 Hymning th' eternal Father: but the shout
 Of

appear'd the banded Powers of Satan. It appear'd a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. *Bristled with upright beams &c.*] The Latins express this by the word *horrere* taken from the *bristling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. *Æn.* XI. 601.

— tum late ferreus hastis

Horret ager.

Milton has before, in II. 513, the expression of *horrent arms*.

84. *Various, with boastful argument portray'd,*] *Shields various* are varied with diverse sculptures and paintings; an elegant Latinism. And the thought of attributing *shields various, with boastful argument portray'd*, to the evil Angels seems to be taken from the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, where the heroes who besiege Thebes are describ'd with the like boastful shields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no such boastful argument on his shield, but a shield without argument as became a modest man, ver. 1117.

Of battel now began, and rushing sound
 Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
 High in the midst exalted as a God
 Th' Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat, 100
 Idol of majesty divine, inclos'd
 With flaming Cherubim and golden shields;
 Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
 'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,
 A dreadful interval, and front to front 105
 Presented stood in terrible array
 Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
 On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd,
 Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd
 Came towring, arm'd in adamant and gold; 110
 Abdiel that fight indur'd not, where he stood

Among

Ο μανίς Αμφιπαραῖ, ὃ σημεῖ' ἔχων
 Τεθροσμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρονῶς ἀσημ' ὀπλά.

93. *And in fierce hosting meet,*] This word *hosting* seems to have been first coin'd by our author. It is a very expressive word, and plainly form'd from the substantive *host*: And if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occasion is so new and extraordinary.

103.

—— for now

'*Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,*] The same circumstance Tasso has in his de-
 VOL. I.

scription of the decisive battel before the walls of Jerusalem, Cant. 20. St. 31.

Decresce in mezo il campo. *Thyer.*

108. *On the rough edge of battel*] So we have in I. 276. *on the perilous edge of battel.* See the note there.

111. *Abdiel that fight indur'd not,*] Virg. *Æn.* II. 407.

Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ mente Choroebus.

E e e

113. *And*

Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O Heav'n! that such resemblance of the Highest
Should yet remain, where faith and reäly 115
Remain not: wherefore should not strength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
Where boldest, though to fight unconquerable?
His puissance, trusting in th' Almighty's aid,
I mean to try, whose reason I have try'd 120
Unfound and false; nor is it ought but just,
That he who in debate of truth hath won,
Should win in arms, in both disputes alike
Victor; though brutish that contést and foul,
When

113. *And thus his own undaunted heart explores.*] Such soliloquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midst of battels. Thus Hector, Iliad. XXII. 98. explores his own magnanimous heart, before he engages with Achilles, Οχθησας δ' αρα ειπε πρὸν μεγαλητορα θυμον.
He stood, and question'd thus his mighty mind.
Pope.

A soliloquy upon such an occasion is only making the person *think aloud*. And as it is observed by a very good judge in these matters, this use of soliloquies by the epic poets,

who might so much more easily than the dramatic describe the workings of the mind in narrative, seems to be much in favor of the latter in their use of them, however the modern critics agree (as I think they generally do agree) in condemning them as unnatural, tho' not only frequent, but generally the most beautiful parts in the best plays ancient and modern; and I believe very few, if any, have been wrote without them.

115. — *where faith and reäly*] The author (says Dr. Bentley) would not have said *reäly* but *reality*, and therefore the Doctor prefers *feäly*, which is undoubtedly a proper word, but not necessary here. For *reäly* seems

When reason hath to deal with force, yet so 125
Most reason is that reason overcome.

So pondering, and from his armed peers
Forth stepping opposit, half way he met
His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens'd, and thus securely him defy'd. 130

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach'd
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,
The throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandon'd at the terror of thy power
Or potent tongue: fool, not to think how vain 135
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms;
Who out of smallest things could without end
Have

seems not to mean in this place *reality* in opposition to *show*; but *loyalty*, for the Italian dictionaries explain the adjective *reale* by *loyal*. Besides where is the difference between *faith*, and *fealty* or *fidelity*? Pearce.

119. — *trusting in th' Almighty's aid*,] We may remark the piety of the good Angel; and indeed without the divine aid and assistance he would have been by no means a match for so superior an Angel.

135. — *fool, not to think how vain &c.*] So Waller in his Verses on the taking of Salle,

Fools to provoke the sov'reign of the sea!
And Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 590.

Demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen &c.

And Homer frequently, from whence the rest seem to have borrow'd it, tho' Mr. Pope has sometimes lessen'd the spirit of the expression by translating the word Νηπιος sometimes

Fool that he was —

and sometimes making a whole line of it,

Fool that he was, and to the future blind.

But Milton has here particularly imitated Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 2.

Come sia pur leggiera impresa (ahi stolto)
Il repugnare a la divina voglia &c.

E e e 2

O

Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat
 Thy folly; or with solitary hand
 Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow 140
 Unaided could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd
 Thy legions under darkness: but thou seest
 All are not of thy train; there be who faith
 Prefer, and piety to God, though then
 To thee not visible, when I alone 145
 Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent
 From all: my sect thou seest; now learn too late
 How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.

Whom the grand foe with scornful eye askance
 Thus answer'd. Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour 150
 Of my revenge, first fought for thou return'st
 From flight, seditious Angel, to receive
 Thy merited reward, the first assay

Of

O fool! as if it were a thing of nought
 God to resist, or change his purpose great, &c.
 Fairfax.

139. — *solitary hand*] His single hand.

148. *How few sometimes may know,*] These
few here are still too many. To come up to
 the point he should have given it, and I sup-
 pose did give it,

How *one* sometimes may know, when thou-
 sands err.

as above, ver. 23. *That one, yet one return'd*
not lost. Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda, Ex
 quo intelligi potest *unum* hominem pluris quam
 civitatem fuisse. Phædri Fab. LXIII.

Plus esse in *uno* sæpe quam in turba boni.

Bentley.

Of this right hand provok'd, since first that tongue
 Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose 155
 A third part of the Gods, in synod met
 Their deities to assert, who while they feel
 Vigor divine within them, can allow
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st
 Before thy fellows, ambitious to win 160
 From me some plume, that thy success may show
 Destruction to the rest: this pause between
 (Unanswer'd lest thou boast) to let thee know;
 At first I thought that Liberty and Heaven
 To heav'nly souls had been all one; but now 165
 I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
 Ministering Spirits, train'd up in feast and song;
 Such hast thou arm'd, the minstrelsy of Heaven,
 Servility with freedom to contend,

As

I suppose the good Angel said *few*, though one was particularly intended, as it is more modest and less assuming to himself.

161. — *that thy success may show*] Thy success, thy ill success; the word success is used in the same sense, II. 9. *Richardson.*

167. *Ministring Spirits,*] So they are called Heb. I. 14. *Are they not all ministring Spirits?*

and Satan mentions it in derision. Compare this with that of Virg. *Æn.* IX. 614.

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis:
 Desidiæ cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:
 Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.
 O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite
 per alta
 Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.

Tym-

As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove. 170

To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern reply'd.

Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find

Of erring, from the path of truth remote:

Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name

Of servitude to serve whom God ordains, 175

Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,

When he who rules is worthiest, and excels

Them whom he governs. This is servitude,

To serve th'unwise, or him who hath rebell'd

Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee, 180

Thyself not free, but to thyself inthrall'd;

Yet lewdly dar'st our ministring upbraid.

Reign

Tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecynthia
matris

Idææ: finite arma viris, et cedite ferro.

172. *Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:*]
Something like this is what Juno says to Jupiter, Iliad. XIX. 107.

Ψευσησεις, 80^ο αὐτε τέλος μῦθω επιθησεις.

Thyer.

181. *Thyself not free, but to thyself inthrall'd;*]
So Horace, Sat. II. VII. 81.

Tu mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis miser —
Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibi qui im-
periosus.

And as to what is here said of servitude, see Aristotle's Politics, B. I. C. 3 & 4.

183. — *in Hell thy kingdom;*] Not that it was so at present. This is said by way of anticipation. God had order'd him to be cast out, ver. 52. and what the Almighty had pronounc'd, the good Angel looks upon as done. And this sentiment

*Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
In Heav'n God ever blest,*

is design'd as a contrast to Satan's vaunt in I. 263.

Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.

187. To

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
 In Heav'n God ever blest, and his divine
 Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd; 185

Yet chains in Hell, not realms expect: mean while
 From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
 This greeting on thy impious crest receive.

So say'ing, a noble stroke he lifted high,
 Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell 190
 On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight,
 Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield
 Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
 He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
 His massy spear upstay'd; as if on earth 195

Winds

187. *From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,*

This greeting &c.] So Ascanius in Virgil retorts his adversary's term of reproach, *Æn.* IX. 635.

Bis capti Phryges hæc Rutulis responsa remittunt,
 alluding to ver. 599.

189. *So say'ing, &c.]* *Saying* is here contracted into one syllable, or is to be pronounced as two short ones, which very well expresses the eagerness of the Angel. He struck at his foe before he had finish'd his speech, while he was speaking, which is much better than Dr. Bentley's reading *So said*, as if he

had not aim'd his blow, till after he had spoken.

195. — *as if on earth*

Winds under ground, &c.] Hesiod compares the fall of Cygnus to an oak or a rock falling, *Scut. Herc.* 421.

Ἡρπε δ', ὡς ὅτε τις ὄρυς ἤριπεν, ἢ ὅτε πετρὴ
 Ἡλιβάτος, πλῆγεται Διὸς ὕποσενλι κεραυνῷ.

And similes of this kind are very frequent amongst the ancient poets, but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we must allow, that he has with great art and judgment highten'd it in proportion to the superior dignity of his subject. *Thyer.*

210. — *and*

Winds under ground, or waters forcing way
 Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat
 Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seis'd
 The rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
 Thus foil'd their mightiest; ours joy fill'd, and shout,
 Prefage of victory, and fierce desire 201
 Of battel: whereat Michaël bid sound
 Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vast of Heaven
 It sounded, and the faithful armies rung
 Hosanna to the High'est: nor stood at gaze 205

The

210. — *and the madding wheels*] What strong and daring figures are here! Every thing is alive and animated. The very chariot *wheels* are *mad* and *raging*. And how rough and jarring are the verses, and how admirably do they *bray the horrible discord* they would describe! The word *bray* (probably from the Greek βραχω strepo) signifies to make any kind of noise, tho' now it be commonly appropriated to a certain animal. It is apply'd by Spenser to the sound of a trumpet, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 6.

And when it ceas'd, shrill trumpets loud
 did *bray*.

But it usually signifies any disagreeable noise, as B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 7.

Her shrill outcries and shrieks so loud did
bray:

and B. 1. Cant. 8. St. 11.

He loudly *bray'd* with beastly yelling sound:
 and sometimes it is used as a verb active, as here in Milton; Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11. St. 20.

Even blasphemous words, which she doth *bray*:
 and in Shakespear's Hamlet, Act I.

The kettle-drum and trumpet thus *bray* out
 The triumph of his pledge.

212. — *over head the dismal hiss*

Of fiery darts] Now the author is come to that part of his poem, where he is most to exert what faculty he has of *υψος*, magniloquence of stile, and sublimity of thought,

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore
 sonandum. Virg. Georg. III. 294.

He has executed it to admiration: but the danger is, of being hurried away by his unbridled steed; and of deserting propriety, while he's hunting after sound and tumor.
 And

The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd
 The horrid shock: now storming fury rose,
 And clamor such as heard in Heav'n till now
 Was never; arms on armour clashing bray'd
 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels
 Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noise
 Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
 Of fiery darts in flaming volies flew,
 And flying vaulted either host with fire.
 So under fiery cope together rush'd

210

215

Both

And 'tis hard to guess, what fault to charge
 on the printer, since poetic fury is commonly
 both thought and allow'd to be regardless of
 syntax. But here in this sentence, which is
 certainly vicious, *the hiss* flew in volies, and
the hiss vaulted the hosts with fire: the author
 may be fairly thought to have given it

— over head *with* dismal hiss

The fiery darts in flaming volies flew.

Bentley.

But if there be any place in this poem, where
 the sublimity of the thought will allow the ac-
 curacy of expression to give way to the strength
 of it, it is here. There is a peculiar force
 sometimes in ascribing that to a circumstance
 of the thing, which more properly belongs to
 the thing itself; to the *hiss*, which belongs to
 the *darts*. See my note on II. 654. *Pearce*.
 As the learned Mr. Upton remarks in his Cri-
 tical Observations on Shakespear, the substan-
 tive is sometimes to be construed adjectively

VOL. I.

when governing a genitive case. Aristophanes
 in Plut. 268. Ω χρυσον αγγελιας επων. *O thou*
who tellest me a gold of words, that is golden
 words. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, p. 2.
opening the cherry of her lips, that is cherry lips.
 So here *the hiss of darts* is hissing darts.

214. *And flying vaulted either host with fire.*]

Our author has frequently had his eye upon
 Hesiod's giant-war as well as upon Homer,
 and has imitated several passages; but com-
 monly exceeds his original, as he has done in
 this particular. Hesiod says that the Titans
 were overshadowed with darts, Theog. 716.

— κατα δ' εσχιασαν βελεωσι

Τιτηνας,

but Milton has improved the horror of the de-
 scription, and a *shade of darts* is not near so
 great and dreadful an image as a *fiery cope* or
vault of flaming darts.

F f f

229. — *though*

Both battels main, with ruinous assault
 And inextinguishable rage; all Heaven
 Resounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
 Had to her center shook. What wonder? when
 Millions of fierce encountring Angels fought 220
 On either side, the least of whom could wield
 These elements, and arm him with the force
 Of all their regions: how much more of power
 Army' against army numberless to raise
 Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb, 225
 Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
 Had not th' eternal King omnipotent
 From his strong hold of Heav'n high over-rul'd
 And

229. — *though number'd such &c.*] Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength like a legion, and though led in fight was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war.

236. *The ridges of grim war*:] A metaphor taken from a plough'd field; the men answer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim*, fierce frightful looking, *war*; that is the ranks of the army, the files are implied. The ranks are the rows of soldiers from flank to flank, from side to side, from the left to the right;

the files are from front to rear. *Richardson.*

236. — *no thought of flight*,] So Homer, Iliad. XI. 71.

Οὐδ' ἑτέροι μιν ὄλοντο φόβοιο.

None stoop'd a thought to base inglorious flight.
Pope.

And Iliad. XXIV. 216.

— οὐτε φόβος μεμνημενον, στ' αλεωξης.

239. *As only in his arm the moment lay Of victory*:] As if upon his single arm had depended the whole weight of the victory. The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance, as the word signifies in Latin. *Ter. Andr.*
 I.

And limited their might; though number'd such
 As each divided legion might have seem'd 230
 A numerous host, in strength each armed hand
 A legion, led in fight yet leader seem'd
 Each warrior single as in chief, expert
 When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
 Of battel, open when, and when to close 235
 The ridges of grim war: no thought of flight,
 None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
 That argued fear; each on himself rely'd,
 As only in his arm the moment lay
 Of victory: deeds of eternal fame 240
 Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread
 That

I. V. 31. Dum in dubio est animus, paulo *momento* huc vel illuc impellitur: And as he has employ'd here the metaphor of the *weight*, so of the *scale* a little afterwards — *long time in even scale The battel hung* — using as a metaphor what Homer makes a simile of, Iliad. XII. 433.

Αλλ' εχον, ωσε ταλαντα γυνη ———

Ως μεν των επι ισα μαχη τετατο πολλεμος τε.

As when two scales are charg'd with doubtful loads ———

So stood the war, till Hector's matchless might
 With fates prevailing turn'd the scale of fight.
 Pope.

And in several particulars he has had his eye upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his master. Homer says that the Greeks and Trojans *fought like burning fire*:

Ως οι μεν μαρναντο, δεμας πυρ & αλομεναιο.
 Iliad. XIII. 673.

But how much stronger is it in Milton, that the war

Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
 Conflicting fire!

It would be entring into too minute a detail of criticism to mention every little circumstance that is copied from Homer; and where he

That war and various, sometimes on firm ground
 A standing fight, then soaring on main wing
 Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
 Conflicting fire: long time in even scale 245
 The battel hung; till Satan, who that day
 Prodigious pow'r had shown, and met in arms
 No equal, ranging through the dire attack
 Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
 Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd 250
 Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
 Brandish'd aloft the horrid edge came down
 Wide wasting; such destruction to withstand
 He hasted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
 Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield, 255

A

he does not directly copy from Homer, his style and coloring is still very much in Homer's manner; and one may see plainly that he has read him, even where he does not imitate him. Wonderful as his genius was, he could hardly have drawn the battels of the Angels so well without first reading those in the Iliad; and Homer taught him to excel Homer.

242. *That war and various, sometimes on firm ground*

A standing fight, then soaring &c.] The syn-

tax and sense is; The war was sometimes a standing fight on the ground, and sometimes the war soaring on main wing tormented all the air. *Pearce.*

244. *Tormented all the air;]* Here Milton takes the same liberty of applying the word *torment*, which the Latin poets did before him in using the term *vexare*. *Thyer.*

247. — *and met in arms*

No equal,] The poet seems almost to have forgotten how Satan was foil'd by Abdiel in the

A vast circumference: At his approach
 The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toil
 Surceas'd, and glad as hoping here to end
 Intestin war in Heav'n, th' arch-foe subdu'd
 Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hostile frown 260
 And visage all inflam'd first thus began.

Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
 Unnam'd in Heav'n, now plenteous, as thou seest
 These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
 Though heaviest by just measure on thyself 265
 And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb'd
 Heav'n's blessed peace, and into nature brought
 Misery, uncreated till the crime
 Of thy rebellion? how hast thou instill'd

Thy

the beginning of the action: but I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, tho' he gain'd that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have prov'd an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them.

255. *Of tenfold adamant,*] In other poets the Angels are armed in adamant, and in Tasso there is particular mention of an adamantin shield, Cant. 7. St. 82. *Scudo di lucidissimo dia-*

mante; but Milton's is stronger, *of tenfold adamant*.

262. *Author of evil, &c.*] These speeches give breath as it were to the reader after the hurry of the general battel; and prepare his mind, and raise his expectation the more for the ensuing combat between Michael and Satan. It is the practice likewise of Homer and Virgil, to make their heroes discourse before they fight; it renders the action more solemn, and more engages the reader's attention.

275. *Hence*

Thy malice into thousands, once upright 270
 And faithful, now prov'd false? But think not here
 To trouble holy rest; Heav'n casts thee out
 From all her confines. Heav'n the seat of bliss
 Brooks not the works of violence and war.
 Hence then, and evil go with thee along, 275
 Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
 Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,
 Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
 Or some more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
 Precipitate thee with augmented pain. 280

So spake the prince of Angels; to whom thus
 The Adversary. Nor think thou with wind
 Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
 Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of these
 To

275. *Hence then, and evil go with thee along,
 Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
 Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,*
 Imitated from Tasso, where Michael in like
 manner rebukes the infernal Spirits who fought
 against the Christians, Cant. 9. St. 64.

*Itene maledetti al vostro regno,
 Regno di pene, e di perpetua morte:
 E siano in quegli a voi douuti chioftri
 Le vostre guerre, et i trionfi vostri.*

Go hence you curst to your appointed lands,
 The realms of death, of torments, and of
 woes,
 And in the deeps of that infernal lake
 Your battels fight, and there your triumphs
 make. Fairfax.

282. *The Adversary.*] Not as any enemy in
 fight may be call'd, but in a sense peculiar to
 him, Satan being his name, and Satan in He-
 brew signifying *the adversary*.

282. — Nor

To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise 285
 Unvanquish'd, easier to transact with me
 That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
 To chase me hence? err not that so shall end
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but we stile
 The strife of glory; which we mean to win, 290
 Or turn this Heav'n itself into the Hell
 Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
 If not to reign: mean while thy utmost force,
 And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
 I fly not, but have fought thee far and nigh. 295

They ended parle, and both address'd for fight
 Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue
 Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
 Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift

Human

282. — Nor think thou &c.] Hom. Iliad.
 XX. 200.

Πηλειδῆ, μὴ δὴ μ' ἐπεεσσὶ γέ, νηπιυτίον ὦς,
 Ἐλπεὸ δ' αἰδοῖξέσθαι·

289. The strife which thou call'st evil,] The
 author gave it

The strife which thou call'st *hateful*.

This appears from Michael's words above,
 ver. 264.

These acts of *hateful strife*, hateful to all.

Bentley.

But why may not this *evil* relate to ver. 262?
 where Satan is call'd the *author of evil*, of evil
 display'd in acts of hateful strife: and so in
 ver. 275. *evil go with thee along* &c. I think
 that *hateful* would have been a more accurate
 expression, but *evil* is justifiable. Pearce.

298. — can relate, &c.] The accusative
 case after the verbs *relate* and *liken* is *fight* be-
 fore

Human imagination to such highth 300
 Of Godlike pow'r? for likest Gods they seem'd,
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,
 Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
 Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air
 Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields 305
 Blaz'd opposit, while expectation stood
 In horror; from each hand with speed retir'd,
 Where erst was thickest fight, th' angelic throng,
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind
 Of such commotion; such as, to set forth 310
 Great

fore mention'd, and here understood. *For who though with the tongue of Angels can relate that fight or to what conspicuous things on earth can liken it, so conspicuous as to lift human imagination &c.* A general battel is a scene of too much confusion, and therefore the poets relieve themselves and their readers by drawing now and then a single combat between some of their principal heroes, as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the Iliad, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the Æneid: and very fine they are, but fall very short of the sublimity of this description. Those are the combats of Men, but this of Angels; and this so far surpasses them, that one would think that an Angel indeed had related it.

306. — *while expectation stood*

In horror;] Expectation is personify'd in the like sublime manner in Shakespear, Hen. V. Act II.

For now sits expectation in the air.

311. — *if nature's concord broke, Among the constellations war were sprung,]* The context shows (says Dr. Bentley) that Milton gave it *warfare* instead of *war were*. I suppose the Doctor to mean, that in the common reading there is wanting a copulative particle between the 312th and 313th verses. Now how does the Doctor's alteration mend the matter? *Broke* and *sprung* (he says) are both participles of the ablative case. Suppose them so; will there not be wanting in the Doctor's reading a copulative particle between the 311th and 312th verses, to connect *broke* and *sprung*? So that the fault of Milton (if it

Great things by small, if nature's concord broke,
 Among the constellations war were sprung,
 Two planets rushing from aspect malign
 Of fiercest opposition in mid sky 314
 Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound.
 Together both with next to' almighty arm
 Uplifted imminent, one stroke they aim'd
 That might determin, and not need repeat,
 As not of pow'r at once; nor odds appear'd
 In might or swift prevention: but the sword 320
 Of Michael from the armoury of God
 Was

it be a fault) is not remov'd from the poem by the Doctor, but only shifted to another verse. We had better keep then the old reading, and allow the poet the liberty of dropping the copulative before the words *Two planets*, on account of that fire of imagination which was kindled, and the highth of that noble fury with which he was possess'd. *Pearce.*

313. *Two planets &c.*] Milton seems to have taken the hint of this simile from that of Virgil, but varied and applied to his subject with his usual judgment. *Æn.* VIII. 691.

— pelago credas innare revulsas
 Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus
 altos.

But (as Mr. Thyer observes) he has lessen'd the grandeur and sublimity of this simile by tarnishing it with the idle superstitious notion of
 VOL. I.

the malignancy of planets in a particular aspect or opposition, as the judicial astrologers term it.

316. *Together both with next to' almighty arm Uplifted imminent,*] So I conceive the passage should be pointed with the comma after *imminent*, and not after *arm*, that the words *uplifted imminent* may be join'd in construction with *arm*, rather than with *stroke* or *they* following. The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging over just ready to fall. One thinks one sees it hanging almost like the stone in Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 602.

Quos super atra filex jam jam lapsura cadentique
Imminet assimilis.

321. — *from the armoury of God*] Milton, notwithstanding the sublime genius he was master of, has in this book drawn to his assistance
 G g g

Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
 The sword of Satan with steep force to smite
 Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor stay'd, 325
 But with swift wheel reverse, deep entring shar'd
 All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,
 And

stance all the helps he could meet with among
 the ancient poets. The sword of Michael,
 which makes so great a havoc among the bad
 Angels, was given him, we are told, out of
the armoury of God,

Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
 The sword of Satan with steep force to smite
 Descending, and in half cut sheer;

This passage is a copy of that in Virgil, where-
 in the poet tells us, that the sword of Æneas,
 which was given him by a deity, broke into
 pieces the sword of Turnus, which came from
 a mortal forge. As the moral in this place is
 divine, so by the way we may observe, that
 the bestowing on a man who is favor'd by
 Heaven such an allegorical weapon, is very
 conformable to the old eastern way of think-
 ing. Not only Homer has made use of it,
 but we find the Jewish hero in the book of
 Maccabees, 2 Maccab. XV. 15, 16. who had
 fought the battels of the chosen people with
 so much glory and success, receiving in his
 dream a sword from the hand of the prophet
 Jeremiah. *Addison.* Tasso likewise
 mentions the armoury of God, Cant. 7. St. 80.
 But this account of Michael's sword seems to
 be copied from Arthegal's in Spenser, Fairy
 Queen, B. 5. Cant. 1. St. 10.

For of most perfect metal it was made, —
 And was of no less virtue, than of fame.
 For there no substance was so firm and hard,
 But it would pierce or cleave, where so it came;
 Ne any armour could his dint outward,
 But wheresoever it did light it throughly shar'd.

And this word *shar'd* is used in the same man-
 ner by Milton.

325. — *and in half cut sheer*; —] We have
 here a fair opportunity to observe how finely
 great geniuses imitate one another. There is
 a most beautiful passage in Homer's Iliad,
 III. 363. where the sword of Menelaus in a
 duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand;
 and the line in the original is so contriv'd, that
 we do not only see the action, as Eustathius
 remarks, but almost fancy we hear the sound
 of the breaking sword in the sound of the
 words,

Τεχθατε και τετραχθα διατρυφεν εκπεσε χειρῶ.

As this kind of beauty could hardly be equal'd
 by Virgil, he has with great judgment substi-
 tuted another of his own, and has artfully
 made a break in the verse to express the break-
 ing short of the sword of Turnus against the
 divine armour of Æneas, Æn. XII. 731. &c.

— at perfidus ensis
 Frangitur, | in medioque ardentem deserit ictu.
 But

And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so sore
 The griding sword with discontinuous wound
 Pass'd through him: but th' ethereal substance clos'd,
 Not long divisible; and from the gash
 A stream of nect'rous humor issuing flow'd
 Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
 And

But he did not think this sufficient, he was sensible that Homer had still the advantage, and therefore goes on after seeming to have done with it,

—postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum est,
 Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis, ictu
 Diffiluit; | fulvâ resplendent fragmina arenâ.

And this beauty being more imitable in our language than the *τετραχθα τε και τετραχθα* of Homer, the excellent translator of Homer has here rather copied Virgil than translated Homer,

The brittle steel, unfaithful to his hand,
 Broke short: | the fragments glitter'd on the sand.

The sword of Satan is broken as well as those of Paris and Turnus, but is broken in a different manner, and consequently a different kind of beauty is proper here. Theirs broke short, and were shatter'd into various fragments; but the sword of Michael was of that irresistible sharpness, that it cut the sword of Satan quite and clean in two, and the dividing of the sword in half is very well express'd by half a verse, as likewise the word *descending* is plac'd admirably to express the sense. The reader cannot read it over again without perceiving

this beauty. Neither does Milton stop here, but carries on beauties of the same kind to the description of the wound, and the verses seem almost painful in describing Satan's pain,

— deep entring shar'd
 All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,
 And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so sore
 The griding sword with discontinuous wound
 Pass'd through him.

329. *The griding sword with discontinuous wound*] *Discontinuous wound* is said in allusion to the old definition of a wound, that it separates the continuity of the parts, *vulnus est solutio continui*: And *griding* is an old word for cutting, and used in Spenser, as in *Fairy Queen*, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 36.

That through his thigh the mortal steel did gride.

332. *A stream of nect'rous humor issuing flow'd*] *Sanguin,*] Here's an odious blunder. *Nectar* is the drink of the Gods; and was Satan's humor or blood a proper drink? But the next line shows what the author dictated,

Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed.

The whole distich is word for word taken from a verse in Homer,

Ιχωρ οιοσπερ τε ρει μακαρεσι θεοισι.

G g g 2

Homer's

And all his armour stain'd ere while so bright.
 Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run 335
 By Angels many and strong, who interpos'd
 Defense, while others bore him on their shields
 Back to his chariot, where it stood retir'd
 From off the files of war; there they him laid
 Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame, 340
 To find himself not matchless, and his pride
 Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
 His confidence to equal God in power.

Yet

Homer's Gods when wounded bled *Ichor*, different from human blood, and peculiar to them. And Milton makes his Angels bleed the same humor, that has no other name. He gave it therefore

A stream of ichorous humor issuing flow'd.

Bentley.

I should have thought that an attentive reader could not have mis'd observing that the *stream* which Milton speaks of, was not of *nectarous humor* only, but of *nectarous humor sanguin*, that is, converted into what *celestial Spirits bleed*: and what is that but the same which Homer expresses by one word *Ichor*? If this was the poet's meaning, the Doctor's objection is wide of the mark. Besides, if *nectarous* was wrong, yet *ichorous* would not seem to be right, because the middle syllable of it should be long, according to the prosody of the word from which it is deriv'd.

Pearce.

The passage wherein Satan is described as wounded by the sword of Michael is in imitation of Homer. Homer tells us that upon Diomedes wounding the Gods, there flow'd from the wound an *Ichor*, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands; and that tho' the pain was exquisitely great, the wound soon closed up and healed in those beings who are vested with immortality.

Addison.

The reader perhaps would be pleased to see the passage in Homer here quoted, Iliad, V. 339.

— ρεε δ' αμβροτον αιμα θεοιο;
 Ιχωρ οισπερ τε ρεε μακαρεσι θεοισιν·
 Ου γαρ σιτον εδ' οσ', ο πινεσ' αθοπα οινον,
 Τενε κ' αναιμονες εισι, και αθανatoi καλεονται.

From the clear vein a stream immortal flow'd,
 Such stream as issues from a wounded God;

Pure

Yet soon he heal'd; for Spi'rits that live throughout
 Vital in every part, not as frail man 345
 In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
 Cannot but by annihilating die;
 Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
 Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
 All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, 350
 All intellect, all sense; and as they please,
 They limb themselves, and color, shape or size
 Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.

Mean

Pure emanation! uncorrupted flood;
 Unlike our gross, diseas'd, terrestrial blood:
 For not the bread of man their life sustains,
 Nor wine's inflaming juice supplies their veins.
 Pope.

335. — *to his aid was run*] A Latinism;
 so we have *ventum est* in the lines just before
 quoted from Virgil,

— *postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum est.*

336. — *who interpos'd*] Thus Homer
 makes the chief of the Trojans interpose be-
 tween their wounded hero when he was over-
 borne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his sun-
 bright chariot at ver. 103. and according to
 the Homeric manner is now wounded, and
 borne (on the shields of Seraphim) back to it,
 where it was plac'd out of the range and array
 of battel, Iliad. XIV. 428.

— Τον δ' αὖ ἐταυροι

ἄρσεναι ἀειγυλῆς φέρον ἐκ πόντος, ὅφρ' ἰκῆθ' ἱππῆες

Ωκεας, οἱ οἱ οπισθε μάχης ἦδ' ἐπὶ πολέμοιο
 ἔστασαν, ἡνιοχόν τε καὶ ἀρμάτα ποικιλ' ἐχόν-
 τες &c.

much more loose and redundant than our ex-
 pressive author. Hume.

344. — *for Spi'rits that live throughout &c.*] Our author's reason for Satan's healing so soon is better than Homer's upon a like occasion, as we quoted it just now. And we see here Milton's notions of Angels. They are vital in every part, and can receive no mortal wound, and cannot die but by annihilation. They are all eye, all ear, all sense and understanding; and can assume what kind of bodies they please. And these notions, if not true in divinity, yet certainly are very fine in poetry; but most of them are not disagreeable to those hints which are left us of these spiritual beings in Scripture.

362. And

Mean while in other parts like deeds deserv'd
 Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought, 355
 And with fierce ensigns pierc'd the deep array
 Of Moloch furious king; who him defy'd,
 And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
 Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
 Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon 360
 Down cloven to the waste, with shatter'd arms
 And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing
 Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,
 Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,
 Vanquish'd Adramelech, and Asmadai, 365
 Two potent Thrones, that to be less than Gods
 Disdain'd,

362. *And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*] I question not but Milton in his description of his furious Moloch flying from the battel, and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad; who upon his being wounded is represented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general battel, were terrify'd on each side with the bellowing of this wounded deity. The reader will easily observe, how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it. *Addison.*

With uncouth pain fled bellowing. *Uncouth* is a word very common with Spenser; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it had in view the following lines, *Fairy Queen*, B. I. Cant. II. St. 20.

The piercing steel there wrought a wound
 full wide,
 That with the uncouth pain the monster
 loudly cry'd. *Thyer.*

363. *Uriel and Raphael*] The speaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himself as a third person, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name.
 Had

Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
 Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.
 Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
 The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow 370
 Ariel and Arioch, and the violence
 Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted overthrew.
 I might relate of thousands, and their names
 Eternize here on earth; but those elect
 Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven, 375
 Seek not the praise of men: the other sort,
 In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
 Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
 Cancel'd from Heav'n and sacred memory,
 Nameless

Had he known it, he must have said *Uriel and I*; which he car'd not to do. Bentley.

365. *Adramelech*,] Hebrew, *Mighty magnificent king*, one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worshipped by them in Samaria, when transplanted thither by Shalmaneser. *And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech*, 2 Kings XVII. 31. *Asmadai*, the lustful and destroying Angel Asmodeus, mention'd Tobit III. 8. who robbed Sara of her seven husbands; of a Hebrew word signifying to *destroy*. Hume.

368. — *plate and mail*.] *Plate* is the broad solid armour. *Mail* is that compos'd of small pieces like shells, or scales of fish laid one over

the other; or something resembling the feathers as they lie on the bodies of fowl, V. 284.

Richardson.

371. *Ariel and Arioch*,] Two fierce Spirits, as their names denote. *Ariel* Hebrew, *the lion of God* or *a strong lion*. *Arioch* of the like signification, *a fierce and terrible lion*. *Ramiel* Hebrew, *one that exalts himself against God*.

Hume.

373. *I might relate of thousands, &c.*] The poet here puts into the mouth of the Angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battel. It would have been improper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the Angel should

Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell. 380

For strength from truth divided and from just,

Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise

And ignominy, yet to glory aspires

Vain glorious, and through infamy seeks fame:

Therefore eternal silence be their doom. 385

And now their mightiest quell'd, the battel swerv'd,

With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout

Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground

With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap

Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd, 390

And fiery foaming steeds; what stood, recoil'd

O'er-

should appear to know more than he chose to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate.

382. *Illaudable*,] Is used here much in the same manner as *illaudatus* in Virgil,

— Quis aut Eurythea durum,
Aut *illaudati* nescit Bufridis aras?

Georg. III. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he pleases, see a dissertation upon that verse of Virgil in the second book of Aulus Gellius.

386. — *the battel swerv'd*,] *Swerv'd* from the Saxon *swerven*, to wander out of its place; here by analogy to bend, to ply; for in that case an army in battel properly swerves.

Richardson.

The word is used in the same sense by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. Cant. 10. St. 35.

Who from his saddle *swerved* nought aside.

391. — *what stood, recoil'd &c.*] The construction has occasion'd some difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. *What stood* is the nominative case in the sentence, and the verbs are *recoil'd* and *fled*. It would indeed be a contradiction to say that *what stood* their ground, *fled*; but that is not the meaning of it, *what stood* is put in opposition to what *lay overturn'd* in the preceding line. Part of the Satanic host *lay overturn'd*; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, *and stood*, either gave way and *recoil'd o'er-wearied*,

O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host
 Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,
 Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of pain,
 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought 395
 By sin of disobedience, till that hour
 Not liable to fear or flight or pain.
 Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints
 In cubic phalanx firm advanc'd entire,
 Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd; 400
 Such high advantages their innocence
 Gave them above their foes, not to have sinn'd,
 Not to have disobey'd; in fight they stood

Un-

wearied, or with pale fear surpris'd fled ignominious.

396. — *till that hour &c.*] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battle, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the side of the good Angels; but we must suppose that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakness *till this hour*.

399. *In cubic phalanx firm*] In strictness of speech, to have been *cubic*, it must have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley justly observes. But why must a poet's mind, sublim'd as Milton's was on this occasion, be ex-

VOL. I.

pected to attend to every circumstance of an epithet made use of? He meant *four square* only, having that property of a *cube* to be equal in length on all sides. And so he expresses himself in his tract called *The reason of Church Government &c.* p. 215. Edit. Toland. *As those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness.* To be sure Milton's *cubic*, tho' not strictly proper, is better than the epithet *martial* (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it) because a *phalanx* in battle could not be otherwise than *martial*; and so closely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. *Pearce.*

H h h

405. — *though*

Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd 404
By wound, though from their place by violence mov'd.

Now night her course began, and over Heaven
Inducing darknefs, grateful truce impos'd,
And silence on the odious din of war:

Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,
Victor and vanquish'd: on the foughen field 410

Michaël and his Angels prevalent
Incamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,

Cherubic waving fires: on th' other part

Satan with his rebellious disappear'd,

Far in the dark dislodg'd; and void of rest, 415

His potentates to council call'd by night;

And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

O

405. — *though from their place by violence mov'd.*] This circumstance is judiciously added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight.

407. *Inducing darknefs,*] He seems here to have copied Horace, Sat. I. V. 9.

— *Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras, et coelo diffundere signa parabat.*

413. *Cherubic waving fires:*] Their watches were *Cherubic waving fires*, that is Cherubim

like fires waving; the Cherubim being describ'd by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature.

415. — *and void of rest,*
His potentates to council call'd by night;] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night. Iliad. IX.

418. *O now in danger try'd, &c.*] This speech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himself of the only comfort

O now in danger try'd, now known in arms
 Not to be overpow'rd, Companions dear,
 Found worthy not of liberty alone, 420
 Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
 Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;
 Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight
 (And if one day, why not eternal days?)
 What Heaven's Lord had pow'rfullest to send 425
 Against us from about his throne, and judg'd
 Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
 But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
 Of future we may deem him, though till now
 Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd, 430
 Some disadvantage we indur'd and pain,

Till

comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement (tho' it was a false comfort) that God was neither so powerful nor wise as he was taken to be. He was forc'd to acknowledge that they had suffer'd some loss and pain, but endeavors to lessen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cause but to their want of better arms and armour, which he therefore proposes that they should provide themselves withal, to defend themselves and annoy their enemies.

422. *Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;*]

Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton gave it *Pow'r and dominion &c. Honor, glory, and renown*, (he says) are three words all allied together, and therefore Milton would not put *dominion*, of another family, between them. But did not Milton mean by *honor* that which arises from high titles? if he did, then *honor* will not be allied to *glory and renown*, which may be gain'd and enjoy'd by a private man, by one who has no *honor* and titles to show.

Pearce.

H h h 2

447. *Nisrock,*

Till now not known, but known as soon contemn'd;
 Since now we find this our empyreal form
 Incapable of mortal injury,
 Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound, 435
 Soon closing, and by native vigor heal'd.
 Of evil then so small as easy think
 The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
 Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
 May serve to better us, and worse our foes, 440
 Or equal what between us made the odds,
 In nature none: if other hidden cause
 Left them superior, while we can preserve
 Unhurt our minds and understanding sound,
 Due search and consultation will disclose. 445

He sat; and in th' assembly next upstood
 Nifroch, of Principalities the prime;
 As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,
 Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havoc hewn,

And

447. *Nifroch*,] A God of the Assyrians, in whose temple at Niniveh Sennacherib was kill'd by his two sons, 2 Kings XIX. 37. and Isaiah XXXVII. 37. 'Tis not known who this God *Nifroch* was. The Seventy call him *Meferach* in Kings, and *Nasarach* in Isaiah; Josephus calls him *Araſkes*. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a prince, and at the capital city Niniveh; which may justify Milton in calling him *of Principalities the prime*.

And cloudy in aspect thus answ'ring spake. 450
 Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
 Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
 For Gods, and too unequal work we find,
 Against unequal arms to fight in pain,
 Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil 455
 Ruin must needs ensue; for what avails
 Valor or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain
 Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
 Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
 Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine, 460
 But live content, which is the calmest life:
 But pain is perfect misery, the worst
 Of evils, and excessive, overturns
 All patience. He who therefore can invent
 With what more forcible we may offend 465
 Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
 Ourselves with like defense, to me deserves

No

462. ——— *the worst* of living without pleasure, but there was no
 Of evils,] Nisroch is made to talk agreeably living in pain. A notion suitable enough to a
 to the sentiments of Hieronymus and those deity of the effeminate Assyrians.
 philosophers, who maintain'd that pain was the
 greatest of evils; there might be a possibility 467. ——— *to me deserves*
 No less than for deliverance what we owe.]
 Nisroch

No less than for deliverance what we owe.

Whereto with look compos'd Satan reply'd.
 Not uninvented that, which thou aright 470
 Believ'st so main to our success, I bring.
 Which of us who beholds the bright surface
 Of this ethereous mold whereon we stand,
 This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd
 With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems and gold; 475
 Whose eye so superficially surveys
 These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
 Deep

Nisroch is speaking; he had complimented Satan (ver. 451.) with the title of *Deliverer*; here he ventures to say that Whoever could invent the new engine of war would be equal to him in his estimation. Milton has taken care that this deliverer should also have this merit, and be without a competitor; Satan is both the one and the other as it follows immediately. *Richardson.*

472. *Which of us who beholds the bright surface*

Of this ethereous mold &c.] Dr. Bentley, for the sake of a better accent, reads *the surface bright*; but *surface* is to be read with the accent upon the last syllable, and not as it is commonly pronounc'd, for Milton would hardly use a trochaic foot at the end of the verse. Dr. Bentley reads likewise *this ethereal mold*; and it is true Milton commonly uses the word *ethereal*, but that is no reason why he

may not say likewise *ethereous* which is nearer the Latin *æthereus*. The construction of this sentence is, *Which of us who beholds &c so superficially surveys these things*: but as the nominative case *which of us* is mention'd so many lines before the verb *surveys*, he throws in another nominative case,

Whose eye so superficially surveys &c.

482. — *the deep*] It is commonly used for Hell, but here is only oppos'd to *surface*, ver. 472. and is the same as *deep under ground*, ver. 478. which may likewise explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of Hell, Hell having been frequently mention'd before by the Angels, and the idea being very well known.

484. *Which into hollow &c.]* *Which* that is the *materials*, ver. 478. *These* ver. 482. the deep shall yield, which into hollow engines ramm'd,

Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
 Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touch'd
 With Heaven's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth 480
 So beauteous, opening to the ambient light:
 These in their dark nativity the deep
 Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame;
 Which into hollow engins long and round
 Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire 485
 Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
 From far with thund'ring noise among our foes
 Such

ramm'd, with touch of fire shall send forth
Sc. *Hollow engins*, great guns, the first inven-
 tion whereof is very properly ascribed to the
 author of all evil. And Ariosto has described
 them in the same manner in his *Orlando Fu-*
rioso, Cant. 9. St. 28. or 24. of Harington's
 translation; and attributes the invention to the
 Devil.

Un ferro bugio, *Sc.*

A trunk of iron hollow made within,
 And there he puts powder and pellet in.

25.

All closed save a little hole behind,
 Whereat no sooner taken is the flame,
 The bullet flies with such a furious wind,
 As tho' from clouds a bolt of thunder came:
 And whatsoever in the way it find
 It burns, it breaks, it tears, and spoils the
 fame.

Nodoubt some fiend of Hell or devilish wight
 Devis'd it to do mankind a spite.

And again, St. 84.

O curst devise found out by some foul fiend
 And fram'd below by Belzebub in Hell *Sc.*

And Spenser has the same thought, *Fairy*
Queen, B. 1. Cant. 7. St. 13.

As when that devilish iron engin wrought
 In deepest Hell, and fram'd by Furies skill,
 With windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught,
 And ramm'd with bullet round, ordain'd to
 kill *Sc.*

But tho' the poets have agreed to attribute the
 invention to the Devil from a notion of its be-
 ing so destructive to mankind, yet many au-
 thors have observed, that since the use of ar-
 tillery there has less slaughter been made in
 battels than was before, when the engagements
 were closer and lasted longer.

Such implements of mischief, as shall dash
 To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands
 Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd 490
 The Thund'rer of his only dreaded bolt.

Nor long shall be our labor; yet ere dawn,
 Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;
 Abandon fear; to strength and counsel join'd
 Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd. 495

He ended, and his words their drooping chear
 Inlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.
 Th'invention all admir'd, and each, how he
 To be th'inventor miss'd; so easy' it seem'd [thought
 Once found, which yet unfound most would have
 Impossible: yet haply of thy race 501
 In

502. *In future days—some one intent, &c.*] This speaking in the spirit of prophecy adds great dignity to poetry. It is in the same spirit that Dido makes the imprecation, Virg. *Æn.* IV. 625.

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor &c.

This here very properly comes from the mouth of an Angel.

507. *Forthwith from council to the work they flew; &c.*] This and the two following lines are admirably contriv'd to express the hurry of the Angels; and consist therefore of

short periods, without any particles to connect them.

512. — *sulphurous and nitrous foam &c.*] Dr. Bentley would have us read as follows,

— sulphurous and nitrous foam

They *pound*, they *mingle*, and with *sooty chark*
 Concocted and adusted, they *reduce*
 To blackest grain, and into store *convey*:
 Part hidden veins *dig up*.

To justify this great alteration of the text, the Doctor premises one postulatam (tho' it is properly two) that Milton is here describing the making

In future days, if malice should abound,
 Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
 With devilish machination, might devise
 Like instrument to plague the sons of men 505
 For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.
 Forthwith from council to the work they flew;
 None arguing stood; innumerable hands
 Were ready; in a moment up they turn'd
 Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath 510
 Th' originals of nature in their crude
 Conception; sulphurous and nitrous foam
 They found, they mingled, and with subtle art,
 Concocted and adusted they reduc'd
 To blackest grain, and into store convey'd: 515

Part

making of gun-powder, and that he was not ignorant how it was made. Agreed. Let us now examin the Doctor's objections particularly. *Sulphurous and nitrous foam adusted?* (says he) why, at the least approach of heat they will fly away in exhalations. I think that this is not true: tho' these ingredients be heated to some degree, yet they will not fly away in exhalations unless some spark of fire gets to them. But why must *adusted* signify burnt or heated to a great degree? If the word will signify parch'd or dry'd any way in such a manner as things commonly are by fire, it will

VOL. I.

be a very proper expression here: for by being *reduc'd to grain* they were *concocted*, and by being *reduc'd to the blackest grain* they were sufficiently *adusted*. Again, the Doctor observes that only two materials are here mention'd, and these without charcoal can never make gunpowder. This is true; but is it necessary that a poet should be as exact as a writer about arts and sciences? If so, not only Milton but Spenser must be blam'd, who has done the same thing as Milton has done; for in his *Fairy Queen*, Book 1. Cant. 7. St. 13. describing a cannon charg'd with gunpowder, he says,

I i i

With

Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth
 Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
 Whereof to found their engines and their balls
 Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire. 520
 So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
 Secret they finish'd, and in order set,
 With silent circumspection unesp'y'd.

Now when fair morn orient in Heav'n appear'd,
 Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms 525

The

With windy *nitre* and quick *sulphur* fraught,
 where it is observable that he takes no notice
 of charcoal, tho' gunpowder can't be without
 it. But what is the Doctor's word *chark*? it
 is the workman's language, he says; if it be,
 it is spoken contractedly for *charcoal*; and is
 but a cant word fit only for the powder-mill,
 not for a poem: for *charcoal* is, in its etymo-
 logy, what is *chark'd* or rather *charr'd to a*
coal, that is, burnt tho' not ashes. *Sooty coal*,
 V. 440. is right: but when the word *chark*, or
charcoal at length, is used, *sooty* seems a super-
 fluous epithet, because it is implied in the
 word *charr'd*. In the common reading the
 Doctor misses the word *pound*; a necessary
 word, because without long *pounding* the three
 ingredients together, no powder can be made.
 But is not the sense of the word *pound* suffi-
 ciently imply'd in *reduc'd to grain*? The words
found, *mingled*, *reduc'd*, *convey'd*, *digg'd*, were

chang'd (says the Doctor) from the present to
 the perfect tense: for the present tense *provide*
 in ver. 520. demonstrates that all the fore-
 going verbs were of the same manner. If
 there were any demonstration to be drawn
 from hence, one would think rather that it
 would fall against the present tense *provide*.
 But there is hardly a page where Milton has
 not run from one tense to another, and some-
 times he has even coupled unlike tenses.

Pearce.

516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath*
this earth

Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,] Dr.
 Bentley has carried on the mark of parenthesis
 to the end of the verse; but it should be plac'd
 after *unlike*: and the *stone* may have been men-
 tion'd here as what they used for *balls*. That
 stone-bullets have been in use, see Chambers's
 Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or Milton by the
 word *stone* here would express more distinctly
 that

The matin trumpet sung: in arms they stood
 Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
 Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
 Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,
 Each quarter, to descry the distant foe, 530
 Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
 In motion or in halt: him soon they met
 Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in flow
 But firm battalion; back with speediest sail
 Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing, 535

Came

that the metal, of which they made their *engins* and *balls*, was inclos'd in and mix'd with a stony substance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *Mineral*.

Pearce.

520. — *pernicious with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engins and balls do no mischief till touch'd by that: but probably *pernicious* is not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of the Latin *pernix*, quick, speedy, &c.

521. — *under conscious night,*] Ovid. Met. XIII. 15.

— *quorum nox conscia sola est.* Hume.

526. *The trumpet sung:*] A classical expression. So Virg. Æn. V. 113.

Et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

527. *Of golden panoply,*] With golden ar-

mour from head to foot completely arm'd. *Panoply*, Πανοπλία, Greek, armour at all points. Hume.

528. — *others from the dawning hills*] This epithet is usually apply'd to the *light*, but here very poetically to the *hills*, the dawn first appearing over them, and they seeming to bring the rising day; as the evening star is said likewise first to appear *on his hill-top*, VIII. 520.

532. — *halt:*] Milton spells it as the Italians do *alto*, but we commonly write it with an *h* like the French and Germans.

533. — *in slow*

But firm battalion;] The reason of their being both a *slow* and *firm battalion* is suggested a little afterwards. They were *slow* in drawing their cannon, and *firm* in order to conceal it, ver. 551.

535. *Zophiel,*] In Hebrew *the spy of God*. Hume.

Came fly'ing, and in mid air aloud thus cry'd.

Arm, Warriors, arm for fight; the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day; fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
He comes, and settled in his face I see

540

Sad resolution and secure: let each
His adamantin coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orb'd shield,
Borne ev'n or high; for this day will pour down,
If I conjecture ought, no drizzling shower,
But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.

545

So warn'd he them aware themselves, and soon
In order, quit of all impediment;

Instant

539. — *so thick a cloud*

He comes,] This metaphor is usual in all languages, and in almost all authors to express a great multitude. We have it in Heb. XII. 1. *Seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses* &c. We have *νεφος πρὸς* in Homer Iliad. IV. 274: *nimbus peditum* in Virgil Æn. VII. 793. and *clouds of foot* in Paradise Regain'd, III. 327. We have *peditum equitumque nubes* in Livy, Lib. 5. and even *nubem belli* in Virgil, Æn. X. 809. and *armorum nubem* in Statius, Theb. IV. 839.

541. *Sad resolution and secure:*] By *sad* here is meant sower and fullen, as *tristis* in Latin and *tristo* in Italian signify.

Pearce.

Or possibly it means no more than serious or in earnest, a sense frequent in all our old authors. And I remember a remarkable instance of the use of the word in Lord Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of Buckingham; "But if it were an embassy of weight, concerning affairs of state, choice was made of some sad person of known judgment, wisdom and experience, and not of a young man, not weighed in state matters &c." if *sad* there be not false printed for *staid* or *sage*. So it is used in Spenser for sober, grave, sedate. Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 14.

A sober *sad*, and comely courteous dame, and in other places.

541. — *let*

Instant without disturb they took alarm,
 And onward move imbattel'd: when behold 550
 Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
 Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube
 Training his devilish enginry, impal'd
 On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
 To hide the fraud. At interview both stood 555
 A while; but suddenly at head appear'd
 Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
 That all may see who hate us, how we seek
 Peace and composure, and with open breast 560
 Stand ready to receive them, if they like

Our

541.

— let each

His adamantin coat gird well, and each

Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield,]

This is plainly copied from Agamemnon's directions in Homer, *Iliad*. II. 382.

Εὐ μὲν τις ὄρου θηξάτω, εὐ δ' ἀσπίδα θέντω
 &c.

His sharpen'd spear let every Grecian wield,
 And every Grecian fix his brazen shield, &c.
 Pope.

546. — *barb'd with fire.*] Bearded, headed
 with fire. Of the French *barbe*, and the Latin
barba a beard. *Hume*.

548. — *quit of all impediment;*] The carriages and baggage of an army were call'd in Latin *impedimenta*: and the good Angels are said to be *quit of all impediment* in opposition to the others incumber'd with their heavy artillery.

552. — *in hollow cube*] Dr. Bentley reads *square*, but see my note on ver. 399. *Pearce*. I knew one who used to think it should be *hollow tube*: to which it may be objected that *enginry*, *machinæ*, are the hollow tubes or guns themselves. *Fortin*.

553. *Training*] Drawing in train, from the term, train of artillery.

568. *So*

Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
 But that I doubt; however witness Heaven,
 Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge
 Freely our part; ye who appointed stand, 565

Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
 What we propound, and loud that all may hear.

So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
 Had ended; when to right and left the front
 Divided, and to either flank retir'd: 570

Which to our eyes discover'd, new and strange,

A

568. *So scoffing in ambiguous words, &c.*] We cannot pretend entirely to justify this *punning* scene: but we should consider that there is very little of this kind of wit any where in the poem but in this place, and in this we may suppose Milton to have sacrific'd to the taste of his times, when *puns* were better relish'd than they are at present in the learned world; and I know not whether we are not grown too delicate and fastidious in this particular. It is certain the Ancients practis'd them more both in their conversation and in their writings; and Aristotle recommends them in his book of Rhetoric, and likewise Cicero in his treatise of Oratory; and if we should condemn them absolutely, we must condemn half of the good sayings of the greatest wits of Greece and Rome. They are less proper indeed in serious works, and not at all becoming the majesty of an epic poem; but our author seems to have

been betray'd into this excess in great measure by his love and admiration of Homer. For this account of the Angels jesting and insulting one another is not unlike some passages in the 16th book of the Iliad. Æneas throws a spear at Meriones; and he artfully avoiding it, Æneas jests upon his *dancing*, the Cretans (the countrymen of Meriones) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the same book, Patroclus kills Hector's charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which Patroclus insults him for several lines together upon his skill in *diving*, and says that if he was at sea, he might catch excellent oysters. Milton's jests cannot be lower and more trivial than these; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remember'd that he is like him in his beauties too.

574. *Or hollow'd bodies &c.*] We must carefully preserve the parenthesis here, as Milton himself

A triple mounted row of pillars laid
 On wheels (for like to pillars most they seem'd,
 Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir,
 With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd) 575
 Brass, iron, stony mold, had not their mouths
 With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
 Portending hollow truce: at each behind
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
 Stood waving tipt with fire; while we suspense, 580
 Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,

Not

himself has put it. The construction then will be, *Which to our eyes discover'd a triple row of pillars laid on wheels, of brass, iron, stony mold or substance, had not their mouths gap'd wide, and show'd that they were not pillars; the intermediate words containing a reason why he call'd them pillars (for like to pillars most they seem'd or hollow'd bodies &c.) being included in a parenthesis.*

576. *Brass, iron, stony mold,*] *Mold* here signifies substance as in II. 355. but Dr. Bentley by reading *cast in mold* changes the sense of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he says) he has rid the poem of *stone cannon*: but such cannon have been heard of elsewhere, and are now to be seen (I think) at Delf in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been used in war, may be question'd: but it is probable that Milton by seeing such *stone cannon* in foreign countries, was

led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. *Pearce.* We read before that these Angels digg'd up veins of mineral and stone, ver. 517. and that may account for the *brass, iron, stony* substance here.

578. *Portending hollow truce:*] Here Raphael himself cannot help continuing the pun.

580. *Stood waving*] This must certainly be an error of the press, occasion'd by *stood* in the line before or in the line following; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads

— and in his hand a reed

Held waving tipt with fire;

and we should substitute some such word as this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids the repetition of *stood* three times so near together.

586. — *deep*

Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent apply'd
 With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
 But soon obscur'd with smoke, all Heav'n appear'd, 585
 From those deep throated engins belch'd, whose roar
 Imbowel'd with outrageous noise the air,
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
 Their devilish glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail
 Of iron globes; which on the victor host 590
 Level'd, with such impetuous fury smote,
 That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand,
 Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
 By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd;
 The sooner for their arms; unarm'd they might 595
 Have easily as Spi'rits evaded swift

By

586. — *deep throated engins*] So Shakespear
 in Othello, Act. III.

And oh, you mortal engins, whose rude throats
 Th'immortal Jove's dread clamors counter-
 feit.

586. — *whose roar*
Imbowel'd with outrageous noise the air,
And all her entrails tore,] The construction
 seems to be, *The roar of which (engins) im-*

bowel'd with outrageous noise tore the air and all
her entrails. So in ver. 740, 741.

That from *thy* just obedience could revolt,
 Whom to obey &c.

Thy for *of thee*; and to this sense the word
whom refers. This is common in Milton's
 poem. *Pearce.* The most natural and
 obvious construction is, *whose roar imbowel'd*
or fill'd the air with outrageous noise; but to
 this

By quick contraction or remove; but now
 Foul dissipation follow'd and forc'd rout;
 Nor serv'd it to relax their ferried files.
 What should they do? if on they rush'd, repulse 600
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow
 Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,
 And to their foes a laughter; for in view
 Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
 In posture to displode their second tire 605
 Of thunder: back defeated to return
 They worse abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,
 And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O Friends, why come not on these victors proud?
 Ere while they fierce were coming; and when we,
 To entertain them fair with open front 611
 And

this it is objected, that it is as much as to say that the roar fill'd the air with roar. Neither do I see how the matter is much mended by saying that the roar of the cannon imbowel'd with roar tore the air &c. The cannon I think cannot themselves be properly said to be imbowel'd with noise, tho' they might imbowel with noise the air. I would therefore endeavor to justify this by other similar passages. It is usual with the poets to put the

VOL. I.

property of a thing for the thing itself: and as in that verse, II. 654. (where see the note)

A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd, we have a *cry of Hell hounds* for the Hell hounds themselves, so here we have the *roar* of the cannon for the cannon themselves; and the *roar* may as properly be said to imbowel the air *with outrageous noise*, as the *cry* to bark.

599. — *ferried files.*] The Italian word *ferrato*, close, compact. *Thyer.*

K k k

620. To

And breast (what could we more?) propounded terms
 Of composition, strait they chang'd their minds,
 Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
 As they would dance; yet for a dance they seem'd 615
 Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
 For joy of offer'd peace: but I suppose,
 If our proposals once again were heard,
 We should compel them to a quick result.

To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood. 620
 Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
 Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,
 Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
 And stumbled many; who receives them right,
 Had need from head to foot well understand; 625
 Not understood, this gift they have besides,
 They show us when our foes walk not upright.

So

620. *To whom thus Belial*] Whoever remembers the character of *Belial* in the first and second books, and Mr. Addison's remarks upon it, will easily see the propriety of making *Belial* reply to Satan upon this occasion and in this sportive manner, rather than *Beelzebub*, or *Moloch*, or any of the evil Angels.

635. *Rage — found them arms*] Furor arma ministrat. Virg. *Æn.* I. 150.

643. *From their foundations &c.*] There is nothing in the first and last day's engagement which does not appear natural, and agreeable enough to the ideas most readers would conceive of a fight between two armies of Angels. The second day's engagement is apt to startle an imagination which has not been raised and qualify'd for such a description, by the reading of the ancient poets, and of Homer in particular.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein
 Stood scoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond
 All doubt of victory; eternal might 630
 To match with their inventions they presum'd
 So easy', and of his thunder made a scorn,
 And all his host derided, while they stood
 A while in trouble: but they stood not long;
 Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
 Against such hellish mischief fit to' oppose. 636
 Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
 Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)
 Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
 (For Earth hath this variety from Heaven 640
 Of pleasure situate in hill and dale)
 Light as the lightning glimpse they ran, they flew;
 From their foundations loosning to and fro

They

particular. It was certainly a very bold thought in our author, to ascribe the first use of artillery to the rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious invention may be well suppos'd to have proceeded from such authors, so it enter'd very properly into the thoughts of that being, who is all along described as aspiring to the majesty of his Maker. Such engines were the only instruments he could have made use of to

imitate those thunders, that in all poetry, both sacred and profane, are represented as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up the hills was not altogether so daring a thought as the former. We are in some measure prepared for such an incident by the description of the giants war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What still made this circumstance the more proper for the poet's use is the

They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,
 Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops 645
 Up-lifting bore them in their hands: Amaze,
 Be sure, and terror seis'd the rebel host,
 When coming towards them so dread they saw
 The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
 Till on those cursed engines triple-row 650
 They saw them whelm'd, and all their confidence
 Under the weight of mountains buried deep;
 Themselves invaded next, and on their heads

Main

opinion of many learned men, that the fable of the giants war, which makes so great a noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sublimest description in Hesiod's works was an allegory founded upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and the bad Angels. It may perhaps be worth while to consider with what judgment Milton in this narration has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the descriptions of the Latin and Greek poets; and at the same time improved every great hint which he met with in their works upon this subject. Homer in that passage, which Longinus has celebrated for its sublimeness, and which Virgil and Ovid have copy'd after him, tells us that the giants threw Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. He adds an epithet to Pelion (*εινοσιφυλλον*) which very much swells the idea, by bringing up to the reader's imagination all the woods that grew upon it. There is further a great beauty in singling out by name these three remark-

able mountains, so well known to the Greeks. This last is such a beauty, as the scene of Milton's war could not possibly furnish him with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the giants war, has given full scope to that wildness of imagination which was natural to him. He tells us that the giants tore up whole islands by the roots, and threw them at the Gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirling it to the skies, with all Vulcan's shop in the midst of it. Another tears up mount Ida, with the river Enipeus, which ran down the sides of it; but the poet, not content to describe him with this mountain upon his shoulders, tells us that the river flow'd down his back, as he held it up in that posture. It is visible to every judicious reader, that such ideas favor more of burlesque, than of the sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that

is

Main promontories flung, which in the air 654
 Came shadowing, and oppress'd whole legions arm'd;
 Their armour help'd their harm, crush'd in and bruise'd
 Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
 Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
 Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind
 Out of such pris'on, though Spi'rits of purest light, 660
 Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown.
 The rest in imitation to like arms
 Betook them, and the neighb'ring hills uptore;

So

is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image;
 From their foundations loosning to and fro
 They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,
 Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
 Uplifting bore them in their hands:—

We have the full majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Claudian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the description of the fallen Angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader. There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end

of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-strokes in the sixth book of Paradise Lost, tho' at the same time there are many others, which that noble author has not taken notice of. *Addison.*

648. *When coming towards them so dread they saw]* Does not this verse express the very motion of the mountains, and is not there the same kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Essay on Criticism?

When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,

The line too labors, and the words move slow.

656. *Their armour help'd their harm,]* Somewhat like that in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 27.

That erst him goodly arm'd, now most of all him harm'd.

662. *The rest in imitation &c.] The rest of the*

So hills amid the air encounter'd hills
 Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire, 665
 That under ground they fought in dismal shade;
 Infernal noise; war seem'd a civil game
 To this uproar; horrid confusion heap'd
 Upon confusion rose: and now all Heaven
 Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread; 670
 Had not th'almighty Father, where he sits
 Shrin'd in his sanctuary of Heav'n secure,
 Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
 This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:
 That his great purpose he might so fulfil, 675
 To

the Satanic host that were not overwhelmed by the mountains, *in imitation* of the good Angels, &c.

666. *That under ground they fought in dismal shade;*] It was a memorable saying of one of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, who being told that the multitude of Persian arrows would obscure the sun, why then says he we shall fight in the shade. I suppose that Statius alluded to this story in the following bold lines. Thebaid. VIII. 412.

Exclusere diem telis, stant ferrea cælo
 Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus sufficit aer.

But what was a shade of *arrows* to a shade of *mountains* hurl'd to and fro, and encountering

in mid air! This was *infernal noise* indeed, and making almost a Hell of Heaven. Such was the uproar in Hell, II. 539.

Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.

669. — and now all Heaven

Had gone to wrack, —] It is remark'd by the critics in praise of Homer's battels, that they rise in horror one above another to the end of the Iliad. The same may be said of Milton's battels. In the first day's engagement, when they fought under a cope of fire with burning arrows, it was said

— all

To honor his anointed Son aveng'd
 Upon his enemies, and to declare
 All pow'r on him transferr'd: whence to his Son
 Th' assessor of his throne he thus began.

Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd, 680
 Son in whose face invisible is beheld
 Visibly, what by deity I am,
 And in whose hand what by decree I do,
 Second Omnipotence, two days are past,
 Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven, 685
 Since Michael and his Pow'rs went forth to tame
 These disobedient: sore hath been their fight,
 As

— all Heaven

Refounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
 Had to her center shook.

But now, when they fought with mountains
 and promontories, it is said *All Heaven had
 gone to wrack*, had not the almighty Father in-
 terpos'd, and sent forth his son in the fulness
 of the divine glory and majesty to expel the
 rebel Angels out of Heaven. Homer's *Iliad*,
 VIII. 130.

Ενθα κε λοιγὸν ἐν, καὶ ἀμνηχανα ἐργα γενοντο,
 Εἰ μὴ ἀρ' ὄξυ νοήσε πατρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

674. — *advis'd*:] Is here a participle ad-
 verbal, and very elegant; it means advisedly,
 designedly; the same with the Latin *consulto* or
prudens, as in Horace, *Od. I. III. 21*.

Nequicquam Deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano diffociabili
 Terras.

Richardson.

679. *Th' assessor of his throne*] So the Son
 is called in some of the Fathers, *παρεσφῶς*
 Θεῶν, dei assessor.

681. *Son in whose face invisible is beheld*

Visibly, what by deity I am,] So the first
 editions have pointed the sentence; and the
 construction and sense of it is this; *Son in
 whose face what is invisible is beheld visibly*, viz.
what I am by deity. Pearce. *Invisible*
 here is a neuter adjective used for a substan-
 tive, and it is in allusion to these texts, Rom.
 I. 20. *The invisible things of God are clearly
 seen*, and Col. I. 15. *The image of the invisible
 God*.

695. *War*

As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd ;
 For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st,
 Equal in their creation they were form'd, 690
 Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought
 Insensibly, for I suspend their doom ;
 Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
 Endless, and no solution will be found :
 War wearied hath perform'd what war can do, 695
 And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins,
 With mountains as with weapons arm'd, which makes
 Wild work in Heav'n, and dange'rous to the main.
 Two days are therefore past, the third is thine ;
 For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far 700
 Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine
 Of ending this great war, since none but Thou
 Can

695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And indeed within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battels that can well be conceiv'd. We have a single combat, and a general engagement. The first day's fight is with darts and swords, in imitation of the Ancients; the second day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the Moderns; but the images in both are rais'd proportionably to the superior nature of

the beings here describ'd. And when the poet has briefly compris'd all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourse to the fictions of the poets in their descriptions of the giants war with the Gods. And when *war hath thus perform'd what war can do*, he rises still higher, and the Son of God is sent forth in the majesty of the almighty Father, agreeably to Scripture; so much doth the sublimity of holy Writ transcend all that is true,

Can end it. Into thee such virtue' and grace
 Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know
 In Heav'n and Hell thy pow'r above compare; 705
 And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,
 To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
 Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
 By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
 Go then thou Mightiest in thy Father's might, 710
 Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
 That shake Heav'n's basis, bring forth all my war,
 My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
 Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;
 Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out 715
 From all Heav'n's bounds into the utter deep:
 There let them learn, as likes them, to despise

God

true, and all that is feign'd in description.

710. *Go then thou Mightiest &c.*] The following lines in that glorious commission, which is given the Messiah to extirpate the host of rebel Angels, are drawn from a sublime passage in the Psalms. The reader will easily discover many other strokes of the same nature.

Addison.

The Psalm here meant is the XLVth, ver.

3. & 4. *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most*
 VOL. I.

mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty; and in thy majesty ride prosperously &c.

714. — *and sword upon thy puissant thigh;*] A great man observed to me, that the sentence falls in this place, and that it may be improv'd by reading and pointing the whole passage thus,

— bring forth all my war,
 My bow and thunder, my almighty arms;
 And gird my sword upon thy puissant thigh.
 L 1 1 732. *Thou*

God and Messiah his anointed king.

He said, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full; he all his Father full express'd 720
Ineffably into his face receiv'd;

And thus the filial Godhead answ'ring spake.

O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly Thrones,
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st
To glorify thy Son, I always thee, 725

As is most just; this I my glory' account,

My exaltation, and my whole delight,

That thou in me well pleas'd, declar'st thy will

Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.

Scepter and pow'r, thy giving, I assume, 730

And gladlier shall resign, when in the end

Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee

For

732. *Thou shalt be all in all, &c.]* We may still observe that Milton generally makes the divine Persons talk in the stile and language of Scripture. This passage is manifestly taken from 1 Cor. XV. 24 and 28. *Then cometh the end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God: And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that*

God may be all in all. And immediately afterwards when it is said

— I in thee

For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st:

this is plainly in allusion to several expressions in John XVII. *That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.* ver. 21. *I in them, and thou in*

For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st:
 But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
 Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on, 735
 Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
 Arm'd with thy might, rid Heav'n of these rebell'd,
 To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down,
 To chains of darkness, and th' undying worm,
 That from thy just obedience could revolt, 740
 Whom to obey is happiness entire.
 Then shall thy Saints unmix'd, and from th' impure
 Far separate, circling thy holy mount
 Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee sing,
 Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief. 745
 So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose
 From the right hand of glory where he sat;

And

in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast loved them, as thou hast loved me. ver. 23. And when it is added

But whom thou hat'st, I hate,

is not this an allusion to Psal. CXXXIX. 21. *Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee, &c.* And there are several other instances, which

the pious reader will perhaps be better pleas'd to recollect himself, than to have them pointed out to him.

737. — *rid Heav'n of these rebell'd,*] Of these rebellious, of these who have rebell'd; a remarkable expression.

746. *So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose &c.*] The description of the Messiah's going out against the rebel Angels is a scene of

And the third sacred morn began to shine, [found
 Dawning through Heav'n: forth rush'd with whirlwind
 The chariot of paternal Deity, 750
 Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
 Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
 By four Cherubic shapes; four faces each
 Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all
 And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels
 Of

of the same sort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans. They are both of them the most undoubted instances of the true sublime; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determine. There is, I think, a greater profusion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the superior character of a Christian Messiah, which Milton has with great judgment and majesty supported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the side of the English poet. *Thyer.*

749. — forth rush'd with whirlwind sound
 &c.] Milton has raised his description in this book with many images taken out of the poetical parts of Scripture. The Messiah's chariot is formed upon a vision of Ezekiel, who, as Grotius observes, has very much in him of Homer's spirit in the poetical parts of his prophecy. *Addison.* The whole description indeed is drawn almost word for word from Ezekiel, as the reader will see by comparing them together.

— forth rush'd with whirlwind sound
 The chariot of paternal Deity,
 Flashing thick flames,

And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself. I. 4. Or perhaps the author here drew Isaiah likewise to his assistance, Isa. LXVI. 15. For behold the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind.

— wheel within wheel undrawn,
 Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
 By four Cherubic shapes;

Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures, and their appearance was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel; and when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them, for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels. I. 5, 16, 19, 20.

— four faces each
 Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all
 And wings were set with eyes, with eyes
 the wheels

And

Of beril, and carreering fires between ;

756

Over their heads a crystal firmament,

Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.

He in celestial panoply all arm'd

760

Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,

Ascended ; at his right hand victory

Sat eagle-wing'd ; beside him hung his bow

And

And every one had four faces. I. 6. And their whole body, and their wings, and the wheels were full of eyes round about. X. 12.

— the wheels

Of beril, and carreering fires between ;

The *beril* is a precious stone of a sea-green color, and *carreering fires* are lightnings darting out by fits, a metaphor taken from the running in tilts ; *The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the color of a beril ; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning. I. 16, 13.*

Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.

And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creatures was as the color of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above : And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a saphir stone : And I saw as the color of amber,

as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain. I. 22, 26, 27, 28.

760. *He in celestial panoply all arm'd*

Of radiant Urim,] All arm'd in complete heavenly armour of radiant light. *Celestial panoply* is in allusion to St. Paul's expression, Eph. VI. 11. *Put on the panoply, the whole armour of God.* The word was used before, ver. 527. *Urim* and *Tbummim* were something in Aaron's breastplate ; what they were critics and commentators are by no means agreed ; but the word *Urim* signifies *light* and *Tbummim* *perfection* ; and therefore Milton very properly gives the epithet of *radiant* to *Urim*. It is most probable that *Urim* and *Tbummim* were only names given to signify the clearness and certainty of the divine answers, which were obtain'd by the high-priest consulting God with his breastplate on, in contradistinction to the obscure, enigmatical, uncertain and imperfect answers of the Heathen oracles.

765. *And*

And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd,
 And from about him fierce effusion roll'd 765
 Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:
 Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
 He onward came, far off his coming shone;
 And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
 Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen: 770
 He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
 On the crySTALLIN sky, in saphir thron'd,
 Illustrious far and wide, but by his own
 First seen; them unexpected joy surpris'd,
 When the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd 775
 Aloft by Angels borne, his sign in Heaven;
 Under whose conduct Michael soon reduc'd
 His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
 Under their Head imbodied all in one.

Before

765. *And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
 Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:]*
 A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and
 fighting flame round about him. *Bickering,*
 fighting and thence destroying, of the Welsh
Bicre a combat. *There went up a smoke out of*
his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured.
Psal. XVIII. 8. A fire shall devour before him,

and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.
Psal. L. 3. Hume.

767. *Attended with ten thousand thousand
 Saints,*
He onward came, &c.] Jude 14. Behold the
Lord cometh with ten thousands of his Saints.

And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God,

The

Before him pow'r divine his way prepar'd; 780
 At his command th' uprooted hills retir'd
 Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
 Obsequious; Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
 And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley smil'd.
 This saw his hapless foes but stood obdur'd, 785
 And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers
 Infensate, hope conceiving from despair.
 In heav'nly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?
 But to convince the proud what signs avail,
 Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent? 790
 They harden'd more by what might most reclame,
 Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
 Took envy; and aspiring to his highth,
 Stood reimbattel'd fierce, by force or fraud
 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail 795
 Against

The chariots of God are twenty thousand. Pſal. LXVIII. 17. I heard the number of them. Rev. VII. 4. Let it be remark'd how much of his sublimity, even in the sublimest part of his works, Milton owes to Scripture.

787. — *hope conceiving from despair.*] Imitated from Virgil.

Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem.

Æn. II. 354.

Or rather from Quintus Curtius. Lib. 5. cap. 4. Ignaviam quoque neceſſitas acuit, et ſæpe deſperatio ſpei cauſa eſt.

788. *In heav'nly Spirits could ſuch perverseneſs dwell?]*

— *Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?*

Virg. Æn. I. 11.

797. *In*

Against God and Messiah, or to fall
 In universal ruin last; and now
 To final battel drew, disdaining flight,
 Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
 To all his host on either hand thus spake. 800

Stand still in bright array, ye Saints, here stand
 Ye Angels arm'd, this day from battel rest;
 Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
 Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause,
 And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye done 805
 Invincibly; but of this cursed crew
 The punishment to other hand belongs;
 Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:
 Number to this day's work is not ordain'd
 Nor multitude; stand only and behold 810
 God's indignation on these Godless pour'd

By

797. *In universal ruin last* ;] So it is in Milton's two first editions ; and if he wrote *last*, it must be understood the same as *at last* : but I was thinking whether it would not be better to read *In universal ruin lost*, when I found it so in Dr. Bentley's edition, but without any note upon it, or any thing to distin-

guish the alteration, as if it had been so printed in all the former editions.

808. *Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints* :] *To me belongeth vengeance and recompense.* Deut. XXXII. 35. *Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, saith the Lord.* Rom. XII. 19.

826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.*] Dr,

By me; not you but me they have despis'd,
 Yet envied; against me is all their rage,
 Because the Father, t' whom in Heav'n supreme
 Kingdom and pow'r and glory appertains, 815
 Hath honor'd me according to his will.

Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd;
 That they may have their wish, to try with me
 In battel which the stronger proves, they all,
 Or I alone against them, since by strength 820
 They measure all, of other excellence
 Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
 Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.

So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd
 His count'nance too severe to be beheld, 825
 And full of wrath bent on his enemies.

At once the Four spread out their starry wings

With

Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse as mean and superfluous. I suppose he understood it thus, *And full of wrath bent his course, went on his enemies*; this is said afterwards, ver. 831. *He on his impious foes right onward drove, &c.* But it may be understood thus, *He chang'd his countenance into terror, and bent it so chang'd*

VOL. I.

and *full of wrath upon his enemies*; and I cannot see how this is either mean or superfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle in this construction—*his countenance too severe to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.*

827. *At once the Four &c.*] Whenever he mentions the four Cherubim and the Messiah's chariot,
 M m m

With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs
 Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
 Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host. 830
 He on his impious foes right onward drove,
 Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
 The steadfast empyréan shook throughout,
 All but the throne itself of God. Full soon
 Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand 835
 Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
 Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
 Plagues; they astonish'd all resistance lost,
 All courage; down their idle weapons dropt;

O'er

chariot, he still copies from Ezekiel's vision.

noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the noise of an host. I. 19, 24.

At once the Four spread out their starry
 wings
 With dreadful shade contiguous,

832. *Gloomy as night;*] From Homer, Iliad. XII. 462. where the translator makes use of Milton's words.

Their wings join'd together made a dreadful
 shade; and Ezekiel says, *Their wings were
 joined one to another. I. 9.*

— ο δ' ἀρ' ἐδορε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ,
 Νυχτὶ θοῇ ἀταλάντος ὑπὸ πτερῶν.

Now rushing in, the furious chief appears,
Gloomy as night! Pope.

And again, Odyss. XI. 605.

— and the orbs
 Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
 Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.

— οδ' ἐρεμνὴ νυχτὶ εἰκώς.

*And when the living creatures went, the wheels
 went by them; and when they went I heard the*

Gloomy as night he stands. Broome.

833. *The*

O'er shields and helms and helmed heads he rode 840
 Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,
 That wish'd the mountains now might be again
 Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.
 Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Four 845
 Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
 Distinct alike with multitude of eyes;
 One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
 Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
 Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength, 850
 And of their wonted vigor left them drain'd,

Ex-

833. *The steadfast empyréan shook throughout,]*
The pillars of Heaven tremble, and are astonish'd
at his reproof. Job. XXVI. 11. Hume.

838. *Plagues;]* The pause resting so upon
 the first syllable of the verse makes this word
 very emphatical. The reader may see beauties
 of the same kind in IV. 350. and the note there.

— others on the grafs
 Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat.

841. *Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,]*
 Milton commonly pronounces this word, as we
 do, with the accent upon the first syllable. See
 I. 280. X. 1087. 1099. But here the accent is

upon the last syllable, and so Fairfax uses it in
 his translation of Tasso, Cant. 1. St. 83.

He heard the western Lords would under-
 mine

His city's wall, and lay his tow'rs prostrate.
 And Spenser, I think, commonly pronounces
 it in this manner, Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8.
 St. 54.

Whose carcases on ground were horribly
 prostrate.

And B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 39.

Before fair Britomart she fell prostrate.

842. *That wish'd the mountains now might*
be again &c.] So Rev. VI. 16. *They*
 M m m 2 *said*

Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.
 Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
 His thunder in mid voly; for he meant

Not

said to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains. See ver. 655. What was so terrible before, they wish'd as a shelter now.

853. *Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c.]* There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the Gods in Homer, before he enter'd upon this engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes, and Gods, mix'd together in battel. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest, that the whole field of battel, and all the tops of the mountains shake about them. The poet tells us, that Pluto himself, whose habitation was in the very center of the earth, was so affrighted at the shock, that he leap'd from his throne. Homer afterwards describes Vulcan as pouring down a storm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars; who, he tells us, cover'd seven acres in his fall. As Homer has introduced into his battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad Angels with all the like circumstances of horror. The shouts of armies, the rattling of brazen chariots, the hurling of

rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employ'd to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All Heav'n resounded, and had Earth been then,
 All Earth had to her center shook.

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven, shaking under the wheels of the Messiah's chariot, with that exception to the throne of God!

— Under his burning wheels
 The steadfast empyréan shook throughout,
 All but the throne itself of God.

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears clothed with so much terror and majesty, the poet has still found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
 His thunder in mid voly; for he meant
 Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthen'd by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject, which was the most sublime that

Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven: 855

The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd

Drove

that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was necessary to give it certain resting places, and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time: he has therefore with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like reliefs to diversify his narration, and ease the attention of the reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description.

Addison.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c. This fine thought is somewhat like that of the Psalmist, LXXVIII. 38. *But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up all his wrath.* And it greatly exceeds Hesiod, who makes Jupiter upon a like occasion exert all his strength. Hes. Theog. 687.

Οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ Ζεὺς ἰχθύν εἰσι μένῃ· ἀλλὰ νύ
τρυγες

Εἰθάρ μιν μένος πλὴντο φρένες, ἐκ δὲ τε
πασάν

Φαυε βίην.

856. — and as a herd

Of goats &c.] It may seem strange that our author amidst so many sublime images should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the Iliad, where in a pompous description of the

Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compar'd for their number to *flies about a shepherd's cottage, when the milk moistens the pails*; and after he has compar'd Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may observe to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not apply'd, as Homer's are, to the persons he meant to honor, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat. And there is the greater propriety in the similitude of *goats* particularly, because our Saviour represents the wicked under the same image, as the good are called *the sheep*. Mat. XXV. 33. *And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.* For which reason Dr. Pearce is of opinion that by a *timorous flock* are not meant sheep but deer, that epithet being as it were appropriated by the poets to that animal. Virgil has *timidi damæ* twice at least. Or the author (as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin imagin) might have said not *or* but *a timorous flock*; and as a herd of goats a *timorous flock*. But he would hardly have call'd the same a *herd of goats*, and then a *flock* immediately afterwards, and neither would he have used the expression of *timorous flock* for a herd of deer in contradistinction to a herd of goats, tho' it is a proper phrase for sheep, which seem plainly to be meant by it. And it is probable that in the highth and fury of his description he did not attend to the minuteness of that figurative distinction

Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued
 With terrors and with furies to the bounds
 And crystal wall of Heav'n, which opening wide, 860
 Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd
 Into the wasteful deep; the monstrous sight
 Struck them with horror backward, but far worse
 Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw
 Down from the verge of Heav'n; eternal wrath 865
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

Hell heard th'unsufferable noise, Hell saw

Heav'n

distinction between goats and sheep, however beautiful it may be in its proper place: or if he had designed it, he would have avoided the ambiguity of such a word as *flock*, which seems improper either to goats or deer.

859. *With terrors and with furies to the bounds*] Job. VI. 4. *The terrors of God do set themselves in array against me*: and the *fury of the Lord* is a common expression in Scripture. Isa. LI. 20. *They are full of the fury of the Lord*. And Virgil frequently uses *furæ* for such frights and disturbances of mind as drive persons to madness. See Georg. III. 511. Æn. I. 41. IV. 376, 474. &c. And so the word seems to be used here.

865. ——— *eternal wrath*
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

The uncommon measure of this verse, with only one Iambic foot in it, and that the last, is admirably contriv'd to express the idea. The beauty of it arises chiefly from the Pyrrichius in the third, and the Trochee in the fourth place,

Burnt after them to the bottomless pit;

and change them into Iambics, which some perhaps would think better, and it will lose its effect;

Burnt after them to Hell's tremendous pit.

Milton himself was so sensible of this beauty, that he repeats it in *Paradise Regain'd*, I. 360.

—— but was driven
 With them from bliss to the bottomless
 deep.

868. *Heav'n*

Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled
 Affrighted; but strict fate had cast too deep
 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound. 870
 Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
 And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
 Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
 Incumber'd him with ruin: Hell at last
 Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd; 875
 Hell their fit habitation fraught with fire
 Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.

Dis-

868. *Heav'n ruining from Heav'n,*] *Ruining* is here used as a deponent; it is a beautiful way of speaking, and very expressive of the idea; it is founded on the notion of the Latin *ruina* from *ruo*. And Milton here follow'd the sense of the Italian word *rovinare* or *ruinare*, which in the dictionary Della Crusca is explain'd by falling headlong and violently from a higher to a lower place. *Pearce.*

871. *Nine days they fell;*] And so in Book I. 50.

Nine times the space that measures day and night &c.

Thus in the first Iliad the plague continues nine days, and upon all occasions the poets are fond of the numbers nine and three. They have three Graces and nine Muses. What

might at first occasion this way of thinking it is not easy to say; but it is certainly very ancient, and we are now so accusom'd to it, that if here, instead of nine, Milton had said ten days, I am persuaded it would not have had so good an effect.

874. *Incumber'd him with ruin:*] This too, like the word *ruining* in ver. 868. must be taken in its Italian signification. *Ingombrato* is very poetical, and expresses the utmost embarrassment and confusion; but *incumber'd*, tho' plainly the same word, yet in its common acceptance has a meaning too weak and low for the author's purpose in this verse. *Thyer.*

876. *Hell their fit habitation — the house of woe and pain.*] Very like that in Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9. St. 59.

Fit

Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
 Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
 Sole victor from th' expulsion of his foes 880
 Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
 To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
 Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
 With jubilee advanc'd; and as they went,
 Shaded with branching palm, each order bright, 885
 Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
 Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
 Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the courts
 And temple of his mighty Father thron'd 890
 On high; who into glory him receiv'd,

Where

Fit house for them, the house of woe and pain.

An instance this, and there are others, that Milton made use of the translation of Tasso, as well as of the original.

878. *Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd*

Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.]

Returning is to be join'd in construction with *Heav'n*, and not with *breach*. Heaven returned to its place: But the expression (as we

noted before) is not very accurate, *Heav'n repair'd her mural breach, and return'd whence it roll'd*.

888. *Worthiest to reign:*] Alluding to Rev. IV. 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power, &c.* and so making the Angels sing the same divine song that St. John heard them sing in his vision.

893. *Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth, &c.*] He repeats the same kind of apology here in the conclusion, that he

Where now he sits at the right hand of blifs.

Thus meafuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth,
At thy request, and that thou may'ft beware
By what is paſt, to thee I have reveal'd

895

What might have elſe to human race been hid;
The diſcord which beſel, and war in Heaven
Among th' angelic Pow'rs, and the deep fall
Of thoſe too high aspiring, who rebell'd

With Satan; he who envies now thy ſtate,

900

Who now is plotting how he may ſeduce

Thee alſo from obedience, that with him

Bereav'd of happineſs thou may'ſt partake

His puniſhment, eternal miſery;

Which would be all his ſolace and revenge,

905

As

he made in the beginning of his narration. See V. 573. &c.

By likening ſpiritual to corporal forms, &c. and it is indeed the beſt deſenſe that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which tho' ſome cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldeſt, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the highth and ſublimity of the reſt of this book deſcends here at the cloſe of it, like the lark from her loſtieſt notes in the

V O L. I.

clouds, to the moſt proſaic ſimplicity of language and numbers; a ſimplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greateſt majeſty, as Milton himſelf ſeems to have thought by always chooſing to give the ſpeeches of God and the Meſſiah in that ſtile, tho' theſe I ſuppoſe are the parts of this poem, which Dryden cenſures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

900. *With Satan; he who envies now thy ſtate,*]
The conſtruction requires *him*, as Dr. Bentley ſays:
N n n

As a despite done against the most High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
But listen not to his temptations, warn
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard

By

says: or it may be understood *He it is who envies now thy state.*

909. *Thy weaker*;] As St. Peter calls the wife *the weaker vessel.* 1 Pet. III. 7.

It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader to find here at the conclusion of this sixth book the commendations, which Lord Roscommon has bestow'd upon it in his Essay on translated verse, and to which Mr. Addison refers in a note above. That truly noble critic and poet is there making his complaints of the barbarous bondage of rime, and wishes that the English would shake off the yoke, having so good an example before them as the author of Paradise Lost.

Of many faults rime is perhaps the cause;
Too strict to rime, we slight more useful laws.
For that, in Greece or Rome, was never
known,

Till by Barbarian deluges o'erflown:
Subdued, undone, they did at last obey,
And change their own for their invaders way.

I grant that from some mossy idol oak
In double rimes our Thor and Woden spoke;
And by succession of unlearned times,
As Bards began, so Monks rung on the
chimes.

But now that Phœbus and the sacred Nine
With all their beams on our bless'd iland shine,
Why should not we their ancient rites restore,
And be what Rome or Athens were before?

Have we forgot how Raphael's numerous
prose

Led our exalted souls through heav'nly camps,
And mark'd the ground where proud apostate
Thrones

Defy'd Jehovah! Here, 'twixt host and host,
(A narrow but a dreadful interval)

Portentous sight! before the cloudy van
Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,
Came towering arm'd in adamant and gold.
There bellowing engins with their fiery tubes
Dispers'd ethereal forms, and down they fell
By thousands, Angels on Arch-Angels roll'd;
Recover'd, to the hills they ran, they flew,
Which (with their pond'rous load, rocks, wa-
ters, woods)

From their firm seats torn by the shaggy tops,
They bore like shields before them through
the air,

Till more incens'd they hurl'd them at their foes.
All was confusion, Heav'n's foundations shook,
Threatning no less than universal wrack,
For Michael's arm main promontories flung,
And over-press'd whole legions weak with sin;
Yet they blasphem'd and struggled as they lay,
Till the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd,
And (arm'd with vengeance) God's victorious
Son

(Effulgence of paternal Deity)
Grasping ten thousand thunders in his hand

Drove

By terrible example the reward

910

Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,

Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress.

Drove th' old original rebels headlong down,
And sent them flaming to the vast Abyfs.

O may I live to hail the glorious day,
And sing loud Pæans through the crouded way,

When in triumphant state the British Muse,

True to herself, shall barb'rous aid refuse,

And in the Roman majesty appear,

Which none know better, and none come so near.

The end of the Sixth Book.



By the way, examine the paper.

Of discolored, and they might be used.

Yet tell, remember, and then to the

There is a great deal of paper in the

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

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And the paper is very good.

And the paper is very good.

L 4. 5. 72





Milton, John,

Paradise lost A poem, in twelve books. The author John Milton. A new edition, with notes of various authors, by Thomas Newton, D.D

Bd.: 1

1749

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